

English Reprints

MASTER HUGH LATIMER

Ex-Bishop of Worcester

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

On each Friday in Lent, 1549

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF



WESTMINSTER

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

1895

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It hath pleased God to grant us a natural liege King and Lord, of our own nation, an English man, one of our own religion. God has given him to us and he is a most precious treasure, and yet many of us do desire a stranger to be King over us. . . . The King's grace hath sisters, my Lady Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, which by succession and course are inheritors to the crown, who if they should marry with strangers, what should ensue GOD knoweth. But God grant they never come unto courting nor succeeding,		
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'Before I enter into this place . . . I would repeat the place I was in last, and furnish it with a story or two which I left out in my last sermon' 55

Episode in this sermon. The revolt against Solomon and death of Adonijah. [a startling parallel to the case of Lord Scymour of Sudleye, High Admiral of England, then in the Tower, attainted for high treason] 1 Kings ch. i. and ii 56

Story of the Cardinal Beaufort, Bp. of Winchester and the good Duke Humphrey 63

i. As God set an order in the King's stable . . . so will he appoint what pasture the king shall have 64

He must be a student, he must write God's book him self 64

The Holy Bible, God's book, that we have among us, has been preserved hitherto by a wonderful miracle of God 65

'What a bishop of this realm once said to me' about the Bible 65

The Homilies are called 'homlyes, and in dede they maye be well called, for they are homely handled' 66

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Rehearsal of the previous sermons 78

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(b) How Latimer was accused of sedition to Henry VIII. 82

(c) How on giving up his bishopric [1 July 1539] he sent his commissary to collect a Pentecostal due of £55: but he could not be suffered, 'a sedition would rise upon it. Thus they burdened me euer with sedition'

83

(d) So this gentleman commeth up now with sedition And wot ye what? I chanced in my last Sermon to speak a merry word of the new shilling, to refresh my audience, how I was like to put away my new shilling for an old groat [s. 35], I was herein noted to speake seditiously

84

(e) When I was in trouble, it was objected and said unto me, that I was singular, that no man thought as I thought, that I loved a singularity in all that I did. . Marry sir this was a sore thunderbolt I thought it was an irksome thing to be alone, and to have no fellow I thought it was possible it might not be true that they told me 'as of Christ in John ch vii "I thought I was not alone. I have now gotten one fellow more, a companion of sedition, and wot ye who is my fellow? Isaiah the Prophet [1. 22] Ah seditious wretch what had he to do with the Mint?" Here he meddleth also with vintners? (I must tell you more news yet. I hear say, there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. The clothmakers have become apothecaries) Isaiah goeth yet on. He calls magistrates unfaithful and fellows of thieves. There are two kinds of thieving. Robbery is a gross kind and Bribery a princely kind of thieving. Giff-gaff was a good fellow. This Giff-gaff led them clean from justice"

84-89

Story of the good fellow and the pudding 'Bribing magistrates and judges follow gifts faster, than the fellow would follow the pudding'

89

The same man that laid sedition thus to my charge, was asked another time, whether he were at the sermon at Paul's Cross. He answered he was there. And being asked what news there. Marry, quoth he, wonderful news, we were there clean absolved, my mule and all had full absolution. Ye may see by this, that he was such a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentleman. Indeed, his mule was wiser than he, for I dare say the mule never slandered the Preacher. Oh what an unhappy chance had this mule to carry such an ass on his back. I was there at the sermon, myself. In the end of his sermon the preacher gave a general absolution, &c

89

(f) Another man quickened with a word I spoke (as he said opprobriously against the nobility that their children did not set forth God's word, but were unpreaching prelates), [s. 41] was offended with me. I did not mean so, but that some noblemen's children had set forth God's word. Howbeit the poor men's sons have done it always for the most part

90

John Alasco Melancthon. Peter Martyr. Bernard Ochin.

90

Now I wil to my place again. In the later end of my sermon I exhorted judges to hear the small as well as the great. The delaying of matters of the poor folk, is a sinful before the face of God as wrong judgement

91

THE TEXT. The parable of the unjust judge. Luke xviii. 1-8.

91

i. *Why our Saviour Christ, rather used the example of a wicked Judge than a good*

95

Bylyke good judges were rare at that time, and trow ye the devil has been asleep ever since?

95

ii. *It is good and lawful for God's people to use the laws of the realm as an ordinary help against their adversaries; so they do it not of malice*

96

'The greatest man in the realm cannot so hurt a Judge as the poor widow. . . And with what armour I pray you? She can bring the Judges' skin over his ears, and never lay hands upon him'

96

Story of Cambyases and the Judge whom he flayed alive

97

The sign of 'the Judge's Skin.'

97

God has two visitations. The first is, when he reveals his word by preachers, the second is, vengeance. Where the first is accepted, the second comes not

97

'Man's heart is unsearchable.' Story of the prisoner executed at Oxford

100

'I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough' [an allusion to the Lord Admiral, that day sentenced to die in that week] 101

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Good pastors are worthy of double honour, to be revered of the people, and to have all things necessary for their state 105

The merry monk in Latimer's college, at Cambridge 106

'A vengeance of that *Bene*, quoth the monk' 106

Unpreaching prelates worthy of double dishonour to be cast out, 'make them quondams', and not to be esteemed 107

A chaplain complains to his Bishop, of Latimer's second sermon (p. 66) The Bishop answers, 'Well, I did wisely to-day, for as I was going to his sermon, I remembered that I had neither said mass nor matins. And homeward I got as fast as I could, and I thank God I have said both, and let his unfruitful Sermon alone' 108

Latimer adds, 'Unfruitful says one, another says seditious Well unfruitful is the best, and whether it be unfruitful or no, I cannot tell. It lieth not in me to make it fruitful I am God's instrument but for a time' 108

i. *Judges and magistrates should look to their offices* 109

The Devil, the great magistrate is very busy now 112

He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of law 113

Oh that a man might have the contemplation of hell, that the devil would allow a man to look into hell to see the state of it, as he showed all the world when he tempted Christ in the wilderness 113

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'A man seemeth not to fear death, therefore his cause is good.' is not a good argument. The Anabaptists died intrepidly. Christ was afraid of death 116

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'Call upon me in the day of trouble' is as much a commandment as 'Thou shalt not steal' 123

Why would God have us so diligent in prayer. Prayer is not lip-labouring, babbling, or monkery. What makes our prayer acceptable? 124

'Our prayer pleases God, because Christ pleases God. When we pray, we come unto him in the confidence of Christ's merits, and thus offering up our prayers, they will be heard for Christ's sake' 125

A poor woman in the belfry hath as good authority to offer up the sacrifice of prayer through Christ, as a Bishop in pontificalibus 125

'This must be done with a constant faith and a sure confidence in Christ. Faith! faith! faith! We are undone for lack of faith' 125

This faith is a great state, a Lady, a Duchess, a great woman. She hath ever a great company and train about her (as a noble state ought to have). First she hath a Gentleman-Usher that goes before her. Where he is not, there is not Lady Faith. This Gentleman-Usher is called *Knowledge of sin*. So she hath a train that come behind, and yet though they come behind, they be all of Faith's company, her whole household, and these are *The works of our vocation* 126

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'The unlearned (although I am sure, here be a great many learned); Story of Samuel	134
<i>i Samuel in his old age took his sons as helpers and coadjutors, to have his office well discharged</i>	135
<i>ii The wickedness of his sons</i>	136
I am sure this is <i>Scala inferni</i> , [the ladder of hell, p 139] the right way to hell to be covetous, to take bribes, and to pervert justice If a judge should ask me the way to hell, I would show him this way. First let him be a covetous man, then let him go a little further and take bribes, and lastly pervert justice There lacks a fourth to make up the mess <i>Hangum tuum</i> , a Tyburn tippet	141
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An innocent gentleman 'a professor of the word of God (he sped never the better for that ye may be sure)'—hanged for a murder, to which another man afterwards confessed and was hanged	154
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Robin Hood 'a traytour and a thief.' [Apparently, neither Latimer nor his audience doubted his existence]	174
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The speech to Peter did not make him a great man, any more than that to Judas afterwards	176
There is never a wherryman at Westminster Bridge but can give a natural reason why Christ spoke in the singular to Peter <i>Launch out into the deep</i> , and in the plural, <i>Loose your nets</i> . He knows that one man is able to shove the boat, but that one man was not able to cast out the nets	176
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Some
circumstances in the
LIFE, &c.
of
Master HUGH LATIMER,
chiefly referring to or illustrated by
these
SERMONS.

* Probable or approximate dates

1485. Aug. 22. Henry VII. becomes King.

Childhood. / *1491. HUGH LATIMER is born at Thurcaston. A house near the church—built in 1568, on the site of a more ancient one—is usually called *Latimer's house*. *J. Nichol. Hist. of Co of Leicester in.* 1056, 1061-70.
His account of his parentage, *p* 40.
How they called pigs in his country (Leicestershire), *p* 98.
His father carefully trains him in archery, *p* 162.
He goes to Cambridge.
*1505.

1509. Apr 22 Henry VIII begins to reign.

At Cambridge. / The merry monk of his college, *p* 106.
1510. Jan. Graduates B A. *Univ. Regr.*
Oct. 18. There were several Latimers at Cambridge about this time. This professor of Greek there was *William Latimer*, not *Hugh Latimer*; as stated in *The Ploughers*, Ed. 1868.
1514. July. Graduates M A. *Univ. Regr.*
Oct. 22. When a priest, his anxiety to mix sufficient water with the wine in the Sacrament, *p* 86.
*1521 or 1522. 'Little Bilney,' *p* 183, converts him to Protestantism.
*1529. The robbery at Oxford, *p* 119.
1530 Mar. 12. Preaches his first sermon before Henry VIII.

At Court. / Comes to court, as a chaplain. The advice a great man gave him then, *p* 201.
As he afterwards tells the king, 'I never thought my self worthy, nor I never sued to be a preacher before your Grace, but I was called to it.' *p* 83.
? What a Bishop said once to him, *p* 65.
1535. Cardinal Pole publishes at Rome, his letter to the King in 4 books, *Pro ecclesiastica unitatis defensione*: see *p* 133,

Bishop of Worcester. / 1535 Oct. 5. Latimer becomes Bishop of Worcester
1537 May—June. His conversation in the Tower with Lord Darcy [who was beheaded June 20], *p* 119.
T. Dorset, Curate of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, thus writes to his friends.—
1538. Mar. 10. 'On Sunday last the byshope of Worcestre preached at Pauls Crosse, and he saide that byshopis, abbatis, prioris, parsonis, cannonis resident, pristis, and all, were stronge thevis, ye dukis, lordis, and all; the kyng, quod he, made a marvelles good acte of parliament that certayne men should sowe euery of them ij. acres of hempe, but it were all to litle were it so moche more, to hange the thevis that be in England. Byshopis, abbatis, with soche other, shold not haue so many servauntes, nor so many dysshes, but to goo to their first foundation, and kepe hospitalytie to fede the nedye people, not jolye felowis with golden chaynes and veluet gownys, ne let theym not onis come into the howses of religioun for repaste; let them call, knaue bysshope, knaue abbat, knaue prior, yet fed non of theym all, nor their horses, nor their doggis, nor ye[t] sett men at

Bishop of Worcester.

In ward.

libertye; also to ete fleshe and whit mete in Lent, so that it be don without hurtyng of weke consciences, and without sedition, and lykewise on Fridaye and all dayes"—*Cottonian M.S. Cleop. E iv fol 110* [See *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries*, Ed. by T. Wright, p 38 Ed. 1843.]

I was once at Oxford . . . I lay there a night' The execution there, p 101.

May 1. Riding home from London, he intends preaching in a town on his way, 'because it was a holy day' [Feast of the Apostles *Philip and James*] He expects to find 'a greate company' in the church: but is forced to give way to Robin Hood, p 173.

Is accused of sedition in presence of the king, p 83.
Is accused of a syngularity in all that he dyd, p 84.
1539. June 1. He resigns his bishopric 'As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd,' p 108.

1539. Is defrauded of his Pentecostal due of £55, p 83
Is in ward with Bp of Chichester, and in daily expectation of death, p 120. For nearly the next eight years he is 'commanded to silence.'

1547. Jan. 29. Edward VI. ascends the throne.

1548. Jan. 1. In the 1. of Ianuary doctor Latimer preached at Paules
æt. 57. crosse, which was the first sermon by him preached in almost eight yeeres before, for at the making of the sixe articles, he being bishop of Worcester would not consent vnto them, and therefore was commanded to silence, and gaue vp his bishopnke: he also preached at Pauls crosse on the 8. of Ianuary; where he affirmed, that whatsoever the cleargie commanded, ought to be obeyed, but he also declared that the cleargie are such as sit in *Moyse's* chaire, and breake not their masters commission: adding nothing thereto, nor taking any thing there from: and such a cleargy must be obeyed of all men, both high and lowe. He also preached at Paules on the 15. and on the 29. of Ianuary. *J. Stow, Chronicles*, p 1002. Ed 1605.

Mar. 7. The 7 of March, being Wednesday was a pulpit set vp in the kings prime garden at Westminster, and there in doctor *Latimer* preached before the kung, where he mought be heard of more than foure times so manie people as could haue stod in the kings chappel: and this was the first sermon preached there *Idem*.

[*The Literary Remains of Ed. VI.* Edited by J. S. Nichols. Roxburghe Club, 1857, and *Burghley State Papers*, Edited by Rev. S. Haynes, 1740, are recommended for full details as to the following.]

25. (Palm Sunday) Latimer preached before the King and receives the usual 20s for his labour.

1549. Jan 17, The 16. of Ianuarie, Sir *Tho. Seimer* knight of the garter, baron of Sudley, lord admirall, brother to the lord Protector, and vncke vnto king Edward, was arrested, and sent to the tower of London . . . *J. Stow, idem*, p 1004.

Jan. 18. Latimer preaches in St. Paul's 'shrouds,' the sermon on *The Ploughers*.

He liues with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace. Poor people come to him in the garden to have their suits heard, p 72.

Attends a sermon at Paul's Cross, p 89.

Feb. 23. The council go in a body to the Tower to examine the Lord Admiral on 33 articles. He refuses to answer, except on arraignment.

24. The King consents to his prosecution.

'Preaching for the most part euery Sunday two Sermons'—*Bernker*.

25. A deputation from both houses of Parliament also go to the Tower. Lord Seymour replies to 3 articles, and refuses to answer the rest.
- 25—Mar 6 A Bill of Attainder of the Lord Admiral passes through both Houses of Parliament.
- Mar 5. (Friday) *The first sermon*, in Lent, before the King at Westminster. 'The duty of a King.'
'I haue no cause to complaine, for I thanke God and the King I haue sufficient,' p 40.
A gentleman, 'suche an one that rode on a mule,' accuses him of sedition to the king, pp 78, 84, 89, 90.
A bishop's opinion of this sermon, p 108.
10. (Sunday) The King assents to the Bill of Attainder of Lord Seymour. Rev. John Joseph, D.D., Rector of Mary le-Bow, preaches before the King.
15. (Friday) Goodrich Bp of Ely sent to prepare the Lord Admiral for death.
The second sermon. 'The duty of a King.'
The above bishop's chaplain complains of what he says at p 66, see p 108.
17. (Sunday) The Lord Admiral's execution is fixed by the Council for the following Wednesday. The Rev. Giles Eyre, D.D., preaches before the King.
(Wednesday) The Lord Admiral is beheaded; see p 117.
22. (Friday) *The third sermon*. 'The unjust Judge.'
4. (Sunday) Rev. Matthew Parker, afterwards Primate, preaches before the King.
28. (Thursday) "xxxij. Martij.—This day sir Michael Stanhope knt. by commandment and order of the lorde protector's grace and counsaile, received of mr. Latymer of such the King's money as came of concelement, and now delivered by th' exhortation of the said mr. Latymer, the summe of vijclxxiijl. [£373] whercof they appointed presently Lii. [£50] by way of the King's reward to be given to the said mr. Latymer in respect of his attendance at court this Lent, and the rest to be used for payments in his charge" *Privy-council Register, M.S. Addit. Brit. Mus. 14,024. fol. 107 See Lit. Rem. of Ed. VI. p cxxviii.*
Latimer—for his defence of the Government—is likened to Dr. Ralph Shaw, who on 22 June, 1483, at Paul's Cross, preached that Edward IV.'s sons were bastards, p 145.
29. (Friday) *The fourth sermon*. 'The unjust Judge.'
31. (Sunday) Rev. James Curthop, Dean of Peterborough, preaches before the King. see p 136.
- Apr. 5. (Friday) *The fifth sermon*. 'The lawfulness of Kings.'
7. (Sunday) Name of preacher on this day not known.
12. (Friday) *The sixth sermon*. 'The miraculous draught of Fishes.'
14. (Sunday) Rev. Richard Coxe, D.D., the Kings' almoner, preaches before the King.
19. (Good Friday) *The seventh sermon*. 'The Agony in the Garden.'
1550. Lent. "And here I would be a Sater vnto your Maiestie, and come now to take my leaue, and to take my ~~willow~~ ^{leave} at least wise in this place, for I haue not long to live, that I thinke I shall neuer come here into this place againe, and therefore I will aske a petition of your highnes. For the love of God take an order for ~~monasteries~~ ^{monasteries} here in this land." *Last sermon before Ed. VI. Ed. 1571, p 108.*
1550. Lent. Thomas Lever preaches before the King.
1551. Latimer named a commissioner to the Ecclesiastical

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

INTRODUCTION.



IN a time of seething change, of not a little uncertainty, and of exciting conflict in religious and social life ; the Great Preacher of England once more comes forth to preach. Not on this occasion chiefly to citizens, as in the four sermons upon God's seed and God's ploughers, to the Londoners in the 'Shrouds at pauleschurche' two months ago ; but now, he stands in the presence of the young King, of the Lord Protector and the Council, of the Court, and—in so far as any spontaneous assembly could represent it—of the Nation at large.

From the 1st July, 1539, when Latimer laid down his bishophood rather than accept 'The Act of the Six Articles,' until the accession of Edward VI.,—nearly eight years—he, John Stow tells us, had been 'commanded to silence.' He had signalized his resumption of the office of a preacher, with a sermon at Paul's Cross on 1st January, 1548 ; and Augustine Bernher, his Swiss servant, testifies 'he continued all Kyng Edwardes tyme, preaching for the most part euery Sunday two Sermons.' So that his fame increased yet more and more, and the knowledge that he was about to preach attracted a large audience.

This was the third time he had preached Lenten sermons before his Sovereign. In 1534, fifteen years previous, he had preached every Wednesday in Lent before Henry VIII. But a year ago, John Stow tells us,—

The 7 of March, being Wednesday, was a pulpit set vp in the King's priuie garden at Westminster, and therein doctor *Latimer* preached before the King, where he mought be heard of more then foure times so manie people as could haue stood in the King's chappell : and this was the first sermon preached there. And now once more he is summoned to like duty, unexpectedly and upon short notice.

The time apparently is in the forenoon. He comes from Lambeth Palace, sometimes on horseback, or—when he has a purpose to serve—in a wherry down the river. Here is his own picture of himself :—

'I . . . whyche am thorough age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only becaufe of paynful study, but also for the short warning,' p 26.

He pictures his audience in thus reproving them :—

'He [Chrysofom] meanes they hard hym [Christ] quietelye with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl myforder, that folke shalbe walkynge vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe fuche buffynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynges Maieftyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketynge of the bodye, and hys Maieftye hath made it a place for the comfote of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynges Maieftye hath done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye oughte to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and though it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauoure spake.

Consider also the prefence of the Kynges Maieftie Gods highe carycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankefully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Heare in silence, as Chrysofom sayeth. It maye chaunce that fume in the companye may fall sicke, or be diseased, if therebe any fuche, let them go away with silence, let them leaue their salutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with silence. I toke occasion of Chrysofomes wordes to admonyshe you of thys thyng.' p 169. From which it would seem that the assembly met within doors, in a banqueting room of the Palace.

Preaching extempore, with hardly any specific preparation (the subject of the fifth sermon was determined upon, while riding from one Palace to the other), one guiding duty directed his thoughts, viz., to adapt his subject to his audience.

'If he [a preacher] preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernynge the offyce of a kinge.' p 25.

'I cominge ridynge in my way, and calling to remembrance wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maieftie I thought it mete to frame my preching according to a king.' p 133.

But he remembers others as well ; and following his praiseworthy habit of summarizing at the beginning of each sermon the teaching of the previous one, we have

in his own opening words of the Seventh, the design and purpose worked out by him in this Lenten series.

'Al thynges yat be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vied my libertie, and intreated of such matters as I thought, mete for thys auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good and disallowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all saye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris*. We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes*. There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentance, now is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembrance of the passion of our sauour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am not able to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc.'

This, then, is what he had to say. How he said it must be seen in the discursive discourses themselves.

The sermons of Latimer, T. Lever, and others, preached in king Edward's reign are endued with interest, partly as revealing the reforming spirit of the Reformers, their honesty, courage, and defence of the poor; and partly showing us how the Protestants thought and purposed in the new sunshine of favour that gleamed for a while over them and their works. We must forget all we know since the date of these sermons; and anticipate, as Latimer anticipated, a long life to the King, and the progressive but uninterrupted establishment of the Protestant faith in the land.

The manhood of the champions on both sides of

religious belief is most striking. Men staked their lives upon the truth of their credence, yet equally were they ready to exact the lives of others for what they considered to be heresies of faith. So Anabaptists intrepidly dying, only for their belief, extort from Latimer but a cold admiration. Such frightful mistakes have good men committed, thinking they were 'doing God service.'

Of the body of Latimer's sermons; the Eight before the King constitute, as it were, the official portion, dealing with national affairs. The Seven on *The Lord's Prayer*, and those preached 'in Lincolnshire,' deal more with devotional exposition and the personal religious life of man.

Besides a number of autographical reminiscences of the Preacher, these sermons contain most important data towards the history of England at this juncture. They must be read in constant remembrance of the great Attainder for High Treason just concluding as they began, and which resulted in the beheading on Tower Hill—on the Wednesday morning between the Third and Fourth sermons—of the king's uncle, the Lord Admiral, Lord Seymour of Sudely—brother to the Lord Protector, the Duke of Somerset. Hence the otherwise hardly necessary episode at the beginning of the second sermon. Latimer there narrates the revolt and death of Adonijah, to an audience who could not but apply the startling parallel to the great prisoner in the Tower. Further on in these sermons he gives us hints and details as to the death and character of this man; some of which were omitted in subsequent editions.

These sermons for the times also bear witness of the times. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, forty years previously, had complained of the 'great dearth of victualles' in England. Everything had since become, and was becoming, dearer. These economic changes, everything being of more value—now accepted as a test of growing prosperity—were looked upon at the time as an unmitigated evil. So that from facts narrated in such bewailings, we now can approximately measure the growth of wealth in England, subsequent to the wars of the Roses.

But the Preacher has not simply to do with earthly things. His sermons are interpenetrated with Scripture; his whole thought is Biblical. To Thomas Some and others he was more than a preacher, he was to them a prophet like unto Elijah.

‘Whome God hath appoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the Iyuyng God, to supplante and rote out al synnes and vice, to plante and graste in mens hartes the plenteousnes of al spiritual blissynges in Iesus Chryst our Lorde?’ p 19.

These ‘playn Pasquyls . . . that kepeth nothing back,’ these unsparing denunciations of wrong-doing and good-omission, these merry or shocking tales, this homely but abundant eloquence: these, all these, were not all Latimer. He had a vivid, though it may be a rough grasp of the unseen, of the spiritual. He equals Luther in his conception of the Evil one; and ‘the Contemplation of Hell,’ the ugly and horrible ‘Image of death,’ ‘the noble Duchesse Faith,’ and her attendants, are all most striking realizations.

Truly Latimer did what he could with all his might; and a lasting fame is but due to his consistent life, his noble deeds, his martyr’s death.

Finally, the Preacher takes leave of King, Court, and People in words of mingled hope and warning: words worthy of him, and as true now as when, with their last sound, closed ‘the famous Fridaysermons of Lent,’ 1549.

‘Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duchess, she hath euer her gentleman vsher going before her, the confessing of synnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyl not be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentleman vsher with you. So if ye wil trye sayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another sayth then thys, a whoremonkers sayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding houle, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowledge your synnes, you shall come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of Christ, worthily, and so attayne to euerlastyng lyfe, to the whiche the father of heauen bringe you and me. Amen.’

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* Editions not seen.

(a) Issues in the Author's lifetime

I As a separate publication.

1. 1549. London.
2 vols. 12mo. *Editiones principes.* These sermons were originally printed in two separate small volumes. The first sermon alone, of which see the title on the opposite page and the Imprint at p 44: and the other six sermons together, with a somewhat misleading title, as at p 45, the address to his second volume being dated 21 June [1549], p 54. Whether these two works were separately published I do not know. It is possible that the first may have been issued in advance; as an instalment towards satisfying the readers' patience. In all subsequent editions in 4to, the seven sermons are treated as one series.

(b) Issues since the Author's death.

I. As a separate publication.

5. 1 Feb. 1869. London.
1 vol. 8vo. *English Reprints:* see title at page 2.

II. With other works.

2. *1562. London.
27 Sermons preached by . . . Maister Hugh Latimer. 1 Hys sermon Ad Clerum. 2 Hys fourth sermon on the Plough. 3 Hys 7 sermons before Kyng Edward. AMES *Typ. Ant.* iv. 94. Ed. 1819.
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III. Abridgments, Extracts, &c.

11. 1808. London.
2 vols. 8vo. The Fathers of the English Church. Ed. by Rev. LEOX RICHMOND. The seventh sermon is in vol. ii. 419-445, and Extracts from second and fourth at pp 650-655.

**A The fyrste
Sermon of May-
ster Hughe Latimer, whi-
che he preached before
the Kynge's Maiest.
wthyn his gra-
ces palayce at
Westmyn-
ster H.
M. XLX. the viii.
of Marche.**

(6,)

Cum gratia et Priuilegio
ad imprimendum solum.

A To the ryghte ver-

tuous and gracious Lady Katheryn
Douchesse of Suffolk, Thomas
Some, her humble and faith
ful Oratour, wysheth
Godly fauour
and euerla-
sting sal-
uation from God the father
through Iesus Christ our
mercyfull Lorde.



Man man is borne for man, that one to
another should be a God, and not a deuyll,
an helper, no hynderer, vnto whom also
ye vse of the tonge is only geuen, wherby
they do both expresse and shewe the affec-
tions of their mindes, there is no man which can say,
I haue no nede of any man.

But amonges infinite mischiefes and euyls of
mans pouertie and anguysh, by which he hath nede of
other mens helpe, is the instruction of prudence or
vertue and of science. For mankynde in this do
pre[ex]cel chiefly brute beastes because thei helpe one
another by mutual communication.

In learnyng good and vertuous maners, the vse of
commonyng is required chiefly, that men erryng and
ignoraunte should be taught, for there is none which
shall euer lerne of hym selfe, all thoughe he be neuer
so happily borne.

Therefore, it shal become euery man, which do in-
tende to lyue godly, to here and learne godly bookes,
to prynte heauenly documentes in their hertes. For
as euyl doctrine, deuilysh bokes, and fylthye talke do
corrupt good maners, so faithful preceptes, godly bokes,
chast commonyng and honest shal edifie, and confirme.

Wherefore, intending to do good vnto al men and namely vnto such, as erre and be ignorant, I haue gathered, writ, and brought into lyght the famous fryday sermons of Mayster Hugh Latimer, which he preached in Lente last past, before oure most noble King Edward the syxt, at the new Palaice of Westminster, the third yeare of hys reigne. Whiche Sermons (most vertuous Lady) I dedicate vnto your honorable grace, nothyng doubtyng but yat you wyl gladly imbrace them, not onlye because of their excellencie, but chiefly for the profyte whych shall ensue thorough them vnto the ignorante.

For in them are frutefull and godlye documentes, directyng ordinatly not only the steps, conuersacyon, and lyuing of kynges: but also of other mynisters and subiectes vnder him. And let no man be greued though it be not so exactlye done as he did speake it, for in very dede I am not able so to do, to write word for word as he dyd speake, yat passeth my capacitye thoughte I had. xx. mens wittes, and no fewer handes to wryte with all. As it is vnpossyble that a litel ryuer should receiue ye recourse of ye mayne sea with in his brymmes, so yat no water should ouerwhelme the sides therof. In lyke manner is it more vnlyke my symple witte to comprehend absolutely the abundante eloquence and learnyng which floweth most abundantly out of godly Latymers mouth.

Notwithstandyng, yet had I rather with shamefastnes declare charitably thys parte of his godly documentes. and counsel, then wyth slowthfulnes forget or kepe close folishly, that thyng which may profete many.

Who is that wyl not be glad to heare and beleue the doctryne of godly Latymer? Whome God hath apoynted a prophet, vnto our most noble Kyng, and vnto our Realme of England, to declare the message of the lyuyng God, to supplante and rote out al finnes and vice, to plante and graffe in mens hartes the plenteousnes of al spiritual blissynges in Iesus Chryst our Lorde?

Moses, Ieremyas, Hecias, did neuer declare ye true
 message of god vnto their rulers and people, wyth a
 more syncere spirite, saythful mynde and godly zeale,
 then godlye Latymer doth now in oure daies vnto our
 most noble Kyng and vnto the whole realme. Fur-
 iur. Kyng xxij thermore, also Iosia receyued neuer the
 boke of gods wyl at the handes of Helkia the hye prest,
 or ye admonicion of Hulda ye propheteffe, with a more
 perfect and godly feare, then our most noble King
 dothe most faithfully, geue credyte vnto the wordes of
 good father Latimer. And I haue no doubt but al
 godly men wil lykewise receiue gladly his godly Ser-
 mons and geue credit vnto the same. Therefore this
 my rude laboure of another mans swet (most vertuous
 lady) I offer most humbli vnto iour grace, mouid there
 vnto of godli zeale, thorough the godly fame, that is
 disperst vnyuersally of your most godly disposicion, and
 vnfayned loue towards the lyuynge, almyghte, eter-
 nall God and hys holye word, practysed dayly both in
 your graces most vertuous behauour, and also godly
 charitie towards the edification of euery membregrafted
 in Chryste Iesu, most humbly desiring your grace to
 accept fauorably thys my temerous interprise. And I
 your most humble and saythful Oratour shall praye vnto
 Iehouah, the God which is of him self, by whom, and
 in whome, all thyngs lyue, moue, and be, that, that
 good worke whych he hatn begonne in you he may per-
 forme it vnto your last endynge, thorough our Lorde
 Iesu Chryst, who preferue and
 kepe your grace now and
 euer. So be it.

C The argument of the Sermon.

IN this fyrst Sermon is declared, and taught the godlye election of a Kyng, and a rule of godly lyuynge as touchynge hys owne person. Where he proueth oure moost excellent King Edward, to be our most lawful king both by natiuitie, and contry, yea, and now appoynted in these our dayes to delyuer vs from the daunger and captiuitie of Egypt and wicked Pharao, that is from, error and ignorance and the deuелиshe antichrist the Pope of Rome. The forme of his godly rule also he deuyded here in this sermon in thre partes. Fyrst that he shuld not truste to muche vnto his owne strength and policy, but only to walke ordinatly with God and to make him his lodes man and chief guyde. Secondly that he lyue not lassyuyously and wantonly, folowyng venereal affections, but to lyue chastly. And whan time shal require, to leade a pure lyfe, vnder the yoke of matrimonye, admonishing both his grace, and al other Maiestrates to be circumspecte in chosynge a wyfe, eyther for them selues or for theyr children, hauing this alwaies in minde, that she be, of a faythfull house, godlye broght vp, and of a pure life. Thirdly he admonyshed the kynges grace, that he should not desyre gold and syluer to muche, prouynge by many argumentes that kynd of vice wyth the other forsaide, to be destruction not only vnto the kynges grace: but also vnto the whole realme and people. In these thinges consystith the whole summe of this sermon.

[The equivalent passages in the authorized English version, of the Latin quotations of Scripture, are given in the footnotes.]



*Vaeunque scripta sunt: ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** What soeuer

Rom. xv. a. thynges are written a fore tyme, are wrytten for our learnynge, that we through pacience and comforte of scripturs, might haue hope. In takynge thys parte of scripture (most nobill audience) I

playe as a trowant, which when he is at schole, wyl chose a lesson, wherin he is perfight, because he is loth to take payne in studienge a newe leasson, or elles feareth strypes for his slothfulnes. In lyke maner, I might seme now in my olde age to sum men, to take this parte of scripture, because I woulde wade easlye awaye there wyth, and dryue my matter at my pleasure and not to be bounde vnto a certayne theame. But

Paul speketh of gods worde only.

ye shall confyder, yat the forsayd words of Paul are not to be vnderstande of all scriptures, but only of those, which are of

god, written in goddes boke, and all thynges whiche are therein, are wrytten for our learnynge, The ex[c]el- lencye of thys worde is so greate, and of hys dignitie, that there is no earthly thyng to be compared vnto it

Gen. i. a. and xvij. a.

The authour therof is great that is God him selfe, eternal, almightie, euerlastynge.

Deut. iij. a.

The scripture because of hym, is also greate, eternal, moste mightie, and holy.

Isa. xxvi. a.

Prou. viij. c.

Daniel vij. c.

Ther is no kyng, Emperour, maiestrate, and ruler, of what state so euer they be, but are bounde to obey this God, and to geue credence vnto hys holy worde in directynge their steppes ordinatlye accordyng vnto the same word, yea truly they are not only bound to obey

Al men ought to obey god, to beleue hys word, and to folowe it.

* Whatsoeuer things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and

comfort of the scriptures might haue hope.—Rom. xv. 4.

gods boke, but also the minister of the same, for the wordes sake, so fer as he speaketh fyttynge in moyses chayre. that is, if hys doctryne be taken out of Moyfes lawe. For in thys world God hath. ii. swerdes the one is a temporal swerde the other a spiritual, The temporall swerde resteth in the handes of kynges, maiestrates, and rulers vnder hym, where vnto all subiectes, as wel the Cleargy as the laite be subiect, and punisheable, foranye offence contarye to the same boke.

God ruleth
this world with
two swerdes.

The tempo-
ral swerde.

The spirituall swerde is in the handes of the ministers and preachers, wher vnto all Kynges, Maiestrates, Rulers oug[h]te to be obedyente, that is, to here, and folowe, so longe as the ministers syt in Christes chayre, that is speakynge out of Christes boke.

The spiritual
swerde.

Math. xxij.

The kynge correctyth transgressours wyth the temporall swerd ye and the preacher also yf he be an offender, But the preacher can not correct the Kynge if he be a transgressor of goddes word, wyth the temporal swerde But he muste correcte and reprove him wyth the spyrytuall swerde, fearynge no man, settinge God only before hys eyes, vnder whom he his a minister to supplante and roote vp all vice and myschyeffe by Goddes worde, where vnto all menne oughte to bee obedyente, as is mencyoned in many places of scripture, and amonges many thys is one.

Math. xxij. a.

¶ *Quaecunque iusserint vos seruare, seruate, et facite.**

What so euer they byd you obserue, that obserue and doo Therefore let ye preacher teach, improue, amende, an[d] instructe in rightwesnes, wyth the spyrytuall swerde, fearynge no man though death shoulde infue Thus Moyfes fearynge no man wyth thys swerde, dyd reprove Kyng Phrao, at Goddes commandement.

Exod. v. vi.
vii. etc.

Micheas the prophet also dyd not spare to blame King Achab for hys wyckednes, accordinge

iiij. Reg. xxiij.

* All therefore whosoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.—
Matt. xxiii. 3.

to goddes wil and to propheſye of his deſtruction contrary vnto manye falſe prophetes.* Theſe forſayde kynges beinge admoniſhed by the miniſters of gods worde, becauſe they woulde not folow their godly doctryne and correſte their lyues, came vnto vtter deſtruction. Pharao geuyng no credit vnto Moyſes the prophet of God, but applyant vnto the luſtes of his owne herte, what tyme he hard of the paſſage of Goddes people, hauyng no feare or remembraunce of gods worke, he did proſecute after entending to deſtroie them and was drowned in ye red ſea. Kyng Acab. Acab alſo becauſe he wold not herken vnto Micheas was kilde with an arrowe. Likewiſe alſo the houſe of Iereboam with other many, came vnto deſtruction, becauſe he woulde not heare the miniſters of Goddes worde, and correſte hys lyfe accordyng vnto his wyl, and pleaſure. Let the preacher therefore neuer feare to declare the meſſage of God vnto all men. And if the king wyll not heare them then the preachers may admonyſhe and charge them wyth their dewties, and ſo leaue them vnto God and praye for them. But if the preachers digreſſe out of Chriſtes chaire, and ſhal ſpeake their owne phantaſyes, then in ſtede of, *Quæcunque iufferint vos facere, facite, et ſeruare.* What ſo euer the[y] byd you obſerue that obſerue and do. Change it into theſe wordes folowyng: *Cauete uero uobis a pſeudo Prophetis qui veniunt ad uos etc.*† Be ware of falſe Prophetes which come vnto you in ſhepes clothing, but inwardly, they are rauenyng woulffes, ye ſhall knowe them by their frutes: Yea, change *Quæcunque iufferint*, (yf their doctryne be euell) into *Cauete a ſermento phariſeorum, etc.*‡ That is: Take

* Ahab.—1 Kings xxij

† Beware of falſe prophets, which come to you in ſheep's clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolves.—

Matt. vii. 15.

‡ Beware of the leaues of the Phariſees and of the Sadducees.—Matt. xvi. 6.

hede and beware of the, leauen of the Phariseis, and of the Saduces. In teaching euel doctrine, all preachers are to be eschewed, and in no wyse to be harkened vnto. In speakyng trueth: thei are to be hard. All thynges wrytten in goddes boke, are moost certayne true, and profitable for all men. For in it, is containyd mete matter for Kynges, Prynces, Rulers, Byshops, and for alle states. Wherefore, it behoueth euerye preacher, sum what to appoynt and accomodate hym selfe, and hys matter a greeable vnto the comforte, and amendemente of the audience, vnto the which he declareth the message of God. If he preache before a kyng, let hys matter be concernyng the offyce of a kinge, if before a byshoppe, then lette hym treate of byshoplye dutyes and orders, and so forthe in other matters, as time and audience shal require.

In gods boke
is matter for
all estatis.

I haue thoughte it good, to intreate vpon these wordes folowyng whiche are wrytten in the. xvii. Chapter of Deuteronomye. *Cum ueneris in terram quam Dominus Deus dat tibi possederisque eam.* Deut. xvii. *et ceter.** That is. When thou arte come vnto the Lande whiche the Lorde thy God geueth the, and enioyeste it, and dwellest therein: If thou shalt say, I wil set a kynge ouer me: lyke vnto al the nacions that are aboute me: Then thou shalt make him kynge ouer the, whome the Lorde thy God shall chose.

One of thy brethren muste thou make Kynge ouer the, and mayste not set a stranger ouer the, whiche is not of thy brethren. But in any wyse, let him not holde to manye horsse, that he bringe not the people

* When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me:

Thou shalt in any wise set *Aim* king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: *one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou shalt not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother.

But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way.

Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold.—Deut. xvii. 14—17.

agayne to Egypt, thorowe the multitude of horffes, for as muche as the Lorde hath sayd vnto you: ye shall hence forth go no more agayne that waye. Also he shal not haue to many wyues, lest he hys herte turne awaye, neyther shall he gether hym syluer and gould to much. As in dyuerse other places of scripture is mete matter for al estates. So in this forsayede place is describyd cheyfly the doctryne fyt for a kynge. But who is worthy to vtter this doctryne before oure moste noble kynge? Not I God knoweth, whyche am thoroughe age, boethe weake in body and obliuious, vnapte I am, not only because of paynful study, but also for the short warning. Well vnto God I wyll make my mone, who neuer fayled me. *Auxiliator in necessitatibus.**

God is my helper in all my necessities. To hym alone wyl I make my petition. To praye vnto sayntes departed I am not taught, to desyre like grace of god as they had (right godly it is) or to beleue God to be no lessemercyfull vnto vs (beinge saythful) then he was vnto them, greatly comfortable it is. Therefore only vnto God let vs lyfte vp our hertes and say the Lordes prayer.

Thynge touched moste chiefly in the hole sermon.
I.



um veneris, etc.† When thou art come vnto ye land which the lord. etc. Thou shalt appoint him king. etc. One of thi brethren must thou make

king ouer the, and must not set a straunger ouer ye which is not of thy brethren.

ii. But in any wyse let not suche one prepare vnto him selfe many horffes that he bryng not. etc.

iii. Furthermore let hym not prepare vnto hym selfe manye wyues, least his herte recede frome God.

iiij. Nor he shal not multiply vnto hym selfe, to much golde, and syluer. As the text doeth ryse, I wyl touche and go a lyttle in euery place, vntyl I come

* God is mine helper.—Ps. liv. 4.

† See text on previous page.

vnto to much. I wyl touche al the forsayd thynges, but not to muche. The texte is, when thou shalt come into the land. etc.

To haue a kyng the Israelites dyd wyth muche importunitye call vnto God, and God longe before promised them a kynge and were full certified thereof, that God hadde promised that thyng. For vnto Abraham hesayed: *Ego crescere te faciam vehementer ponamque te in gentes, sed et reges ex te prodibunt.** Gen. xvii. 2.

That is, I wil multipli the excedingly, and wil make nations of the, yea and kings shal spring out of the. These wordes were spoken long before the chyldren of Israel had any king, Notwithstandyng, yet God prescrybid vnto them an order, howe the[y] shulde chose their kyng, and what manner a man he shoulde be, where he saith: whan thou shalt come in to the lande, etc. As who should say. O ye children of Israel I knowe your nature ryght well, whiche is euyl, and inclined vnto al euyls. I know that thou wilt chose a kyng to raygne ouer the and to apere glorious in the face of the world, after the manner of gentyles, But because thou art stiffe necked, wilde, and art geuen to walke without a brydell, and lyne. Therefore now I wyll preuente thy euyl and bestly manners I will hedge strongly thy waye, I wyll make a durable lawe, whyche shal compell the to walke ordinatlye, and in a plain way, that is thou shalt not chose the a kynge after thy wyll and fantayse but after me thy Lord and God. Thus, god condycioned wyth the Iewes, that theyr king should be suche a one as he hym self wold chose them And was not much vnlyke [t]he bargayne that I herd of late shulde be betwixte two fryndes for a horffe, the owner promysed the other shuld haue the horffe yf he wold, the other axed ye price, he sayed: xx. nobles The other wold geue hym but iiii. pound: ye owner said he shuld not haue hym then, The other claymed the horffe bycause he sayd, he

* I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and kings shall come out of thee.—
shal, and I will make nations of thee; Gen. xvii. 6.

shoulde haue hym if he wold, Thus thys bargayne became a westminster matter, the lawyers gote twyse the valure of the horse, and when all came to all, two fooles made an ende of the matter. Howbeit, the Israelites coulde not go to lawe wyth God, for chosynge theyr kynge, for would they, nyl they, theyr kinge shold be of his chosynge, lest they shoulde walke inordinatly, in a deceyuable way, vnto theyr vtter losse and destruction. For as they say commonly *Qui vadit plane, vadit sane.* that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh safely. As the Iewes were styfnecked, and were euer ready to walke inordinatelye, no lesse are we Englyshe men geuen to vntowardnes, and inordinate walkynge after oure owne fantasies and braynes. We wyll walke wythoute the limites of Goddes worde, we wyll chose a kyng at our owne pleasure.

A comon
sayinge.

plane, vadit sane. that is. He that walketh playnly, walketh safely. As the Iewes

i. Reg. xix. a. But let vs learne to frame our lyues after the noble king Dauid whych when he had manye occasions, geuen of kyng Saul to worke euyl, for euyl, yea, and hauynge manye tymes oportunitie to per-

i. Reg. xxiiij. a.
Red ye stories
they be verye
pleasaunt and
profytable.

fourme mischief and to slay king Saule. Neuerthelesse yet fearyng, would not folowe hys fleshly affections and walke inordinatelye, wythoute the wyll of Gods

Psal. cxviiiij. v.

tion, sayinge. *Lucerna pedibus meis verbum*

Gods worde
is oure lyght.

*tuum et lumen semitis meis.** Thy worde, O

lyght vnto my steppes. Thus hauynge in mynde, to walke ordinatly he did alwaies auoyde to do euyl. For whan kyng Saul was in a caue without anye man. Dauid and hys men sytting by the fydes of the caue, yea and Dauids men mouyng hym to kyl Saul, Dauid made answer and sayd vnto them; *Seruet me dominus, ne rem istam. etc. contra dominum meum Messiam etc.†* That is The Lord kepe

* Thy word is a lamp unto my feet,
and a light unto my path.—Psa. cxix
103

† The Lord forbid that I should
do this thing unto my master, the
Lord's anointed.—1 Sam. xxiij. 6.

me from doying this thing vnto my maister yat is the lordes anointed. At another tyme also, moued by Abisay to kyl Saul sleping, Dauid said: *Ne interficias eum, quis enim impune manum suam inferret* 1. Reg. xxvi. b. *uncto domino etc.** That is: Destroye hym not, for who can laye hys handes on the Lordes anoynted and be gyltlesse. etc. I wold God we wolde folowe King Dauid, and then we shuld walke ordinatly, and yet do but yat we are bounde of dutye to do, for God sayth: *Quod ego precipio, hoc tantum facito.*†

That thing which I commande that only do. There is a greate errour risen now a daies among many of vs, which are Phantastical brayns are reproued inordinatly. vayne and new fangled men clymbyng beyond the lymites of our capacitye and wytte, in wrenching thys text of scrypture, hereafter folowyng, after their owne phantasie and brayne, their erreure is vpon this text: *Audi vocem populi in omnibus quae dicunt tibi, non enim te reprobant sed me reprobarunt ne regnem super eos.*‡

That is: Heare the voyce of the people in all that they say vnto the, for they haue not caste the a way but me. Thei wrench these wordes a wrye after their owne fantasies, and make much doubte as touchynge a kynge, and hys Godlye name. They that so do walketh inordinatly, they walk not directely and playnly, but delite in balkes, and stubble way.

It maketh no matter by what name the rulers be named, if so be they shall walke God calleth his ministers by dyuerse names. ordinately with god, and drect their steps with god. For both patriarkes Iudges, and kynges, had, and haue their authoritye of God, and therfore Godli. But this ought to be considered which God saieth. *Non praeficere tibi potest hominem alienum.*§ that is. Thou must not set a straunger ouer the.

* Destroy him not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?—1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

† What thing soeuer I command you, observe to do it.—Deut. xii. 32.

‡ Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.—1 Sam. viii. 7.

§ Deut. xvii. 15: see text at p. 25.

Kyng Edwa.
ye vi. is our na-
turall kynge
and a most pre-
cious treasure.

It hath pleased God to graunt vs a naturall liege kynge and Lorde, of oure owne nation an Englysh man, one of our owne religion. God hath geuen hym vnto vs, and is a mooste precious treasure, and yet mani of vs do desyre a straunger to be kynge ouer vs. Let vs no more desyre to be bankers, but lett vs endeuoure to walke ordinateleye and plainely, after the word of God Let vs folow Daniel, let vs not seke the death of oure mooste noble and ryghtfull Kynge, oure owne brother, boeth by natyuyty, and Godly relygion. Let vs pray for hys good state, that he may lyue long among vs.

Let vs praye
for hys lyfe.

Oh what a plage were it, that a straunge kinge of a straunge land, and of a straung religion should raygne ouer vs. Where nowe we be gouerned in the true relygion, he should extirpe and plucke away all to gether, and then plante agayn all abomynacyon, and popery, GOD kepe fuche a kynge from vs. Well the kynges grace hath systers, my Ladye Mary, and my Lady Elizabeth, whych by succession and course are inheritours to the crowne. Who yf they shulde mary with straungers, what should ensue GOD knoweth. But god graunt they neuer come vnto coursyng nor succedyng. Therefore to auoyd thys plage, let vs amende oure lyues and put awaye all pryde, whyche dothe drowne men in thys realme at these dayes, all couetousnes where in the magistrates and ryche men of thys realme are ouerwhelmed, all lechery and other excessyue vices, prouokynge gods wrath, were he not mercyful, euen to take from vs oure naturall kynge and leyge Lorde, yea, and to plage vs wyth a straunge kynge for oure vnrepentaunte herte. Wherfore (yf as ye saye) ye loue the kynge, amende your lyues, and then ye shalbe a meane that GOD shall lende hym vs longe to raygne ouer vs, for vndowtedlye synnes prouoke muche goddes wrath scripture saith: *Dabo tibi regem in furoris meo,**

A stranger
wold rote out
al godlynes
and plante a-
gayn al hypo-
crys.

They that
loue God or
the kyng wyl
amende theyr
sinful lyuing.

* I gave thee a king in mine anger,—Hos. xiii. 22.

That is: I wyll geue a kynge in my wrathe. Now we haue a lawfull kyng, a godly kynge, neuertheles yet many euyls do raygne. Longe tyme the mynisters appoynted, hath studied to amende, and redres al euyles, long time before thys greate laboure hath bene about this matter, great crakes hath bene made that al shoulde be well. But when all came to all for theyr hostes, lyttle or nothyng was done, in whome these words of Horace mai wel be verified sayinge. *Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.* The mountaines swelleth vp, the pore mouse is brought out, long before thys tyme, many hath taken in hande to brynge manye thynges vnto paste, but finally theyr worckes came vnto small effect and profyte. Now I here say all thinges are ended after a Godly maner, or els shortelye shall be. Make hast, make hast, and let vs learne to conuerte, to repente, and amende our lyues. If we do not, I feare, I feare, lest for our synnes and vnthankefulnes, an Hipocrit shal raigne ouer vs. Long we haue bene seruantes and in bondage, seruyng the pope in Egypte. God hath geuen vs a deliuerer, a natural kynge. Let vs seke no stranger of another nacion, no hypocrite whiche shall brynge in agayne al papistrie, hipocricie, and Idolatrye. No diabolicall minister whyche shall mayntayne all deuелиshe worckes and euyll exercises. But let vs pray that God mayntayne and continue oure most excellent kynge here presente, true inheritoure of thys our realme, both by natyuytye, and also by the special gift and ordinaunce of God. He doth vs rectify in the libertie of the gospel, in that therefore let vs stand. *State ergo in libertate, qua Christus nos liberauit.** Stande ye in the libertye, wherwyth Chryste hath made vs free. In Chrystes lybertye,

The pope hath longe raigned.

God hath sente vs a deliuerer.

Let vs no more seke to serue a straunger.

Let vs pray for our king.

Gala, v. a.

* Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. —Gal. v. 1.

we shall stande, If we so lyue that we profyte. If we cast away all euyl, fraude, and deceyte, with such other vices, contrary to Gods word. And in so doing we shal not onely prolonge and mayntayne our most noble kynges dayes in prosperitie: but also we shal prosper our owne lyues, to lyue not onelye prosperously, but also godly.

The seconde
parte of hys
sermon

In any wyse, let no fuche a wone prepare vnto him self manye horsses. etc. In speakyng these wordes, ye shal vnderstand, that I do not entend to speake agaynst the strengthe, polyfye, and prouision of a kyng, but agaynst excesse, and vayne truste that kynges haue in them selues, more then in the liuing god the authour of al goodnes, and geuer of all victory. Many horses are requisite for a king, but he maye not excede in them, nor triumphe in them, more then is nedeful, for the necessary affayres and defence of the realme: what meaneth it, that god hath to do wyth the kynges stable? But only he would be mayster of hys horsses, the Scripture sayeth, *In altis habitat*. He dwelleth on hye, it foloweth. *Humilia respicit*.^{*} He loketh on lowe thynges, yea, vpon the Kynges stables. and vpon al the offyces in hys house. God is great grand mayster of the Kynges house, and wil take accoumpt of euery one that beareth rule therin, for the executing of their offices, Whether they haue iustly and truely serued the kyng in their offices or no. Yea god loketh vpon the kynge hym selfe, if he worketh well or not. Euery kyng is subiect vnto God, and all other men are subiectes vnto ye king. In a king god requireth faith, not exces of horsses. Horsses for a kynge be good and necessarye, if thei be wel vsed. But horsses are not to be preferred aboue pore men. I was ones offendid with the kynges horses, and therfore toke occasion to speake in the presens of the kynges maiestye that dead is,

^{*} Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect vnto the lowly.—
Psa. cxxxviii. 6.

whan Abbeis stode. Abbeis were ordeyned for the comferte of the pore, Wherefore I sayde it was not decent that the kings horffes shuld be kept in them (as manye were at that tyme) the lyuynge of poore men therby minished and taken a way: But after ward a certayne noble man sayd to me, what hast thou to do with ye kinges horffes? I answered, and sayd, I speake my conscience as goddes word directeth me. He said horffes be ye mayntenaunces and parte of a kynges honoure, and also of hys realme, wherefore in speakyng againste them ye are against the kynges honoure. I answered. God teacheth what honoure is decenete for the kyng and for al other men accordynge vnto their vocations. God apoynteth euery king a sufficient lyuynge for hys state and degre boeth by landes and other customes. And it is lawfull for euery kyng to enioye the same goodes and possessyons. But to extorte and take awaye the ryghte of the poore, is agaynste the honoure of the kinge. And you do moue the kinge to do after that manner, then you speake agaynste the honoure of the kyng. For I ful certifye you, extorcioners, violent opressers, in grossers of tenamentes and landes, throughe whose couetousnes, villages decaye and fall downe, the kinges leige people for lacke of sustinaunce are famished and decayed. They be those whyche speke a gainst the honour of the kyng. God requireth in the king and al magistrates a good herte, to walke directlye in hys wayes. And in all subiectes, an obedience dewe vnto a kyng. Therefore I pray god both the king and also we his people maye endeuer diligen[t]ly to walke in his wayes, to hys greate honoure and our profite. Let hym not prepare vnto him selfe to many wyues. etc. Al though we reade heare that the kinges amongest the Iewes, had libertye to take more wyues then one, we maye not therefore atempte to walke in ordinatly

An answer declaringe the true honoure of a kyng.

He describeth ye dishonours of a kyng playnely and most truely.

god requireth a good herte.

The. iii. parte of his sermon

Kinges of the
Iewes had a
dispensation
to haue mo
wyues then
one.

and to thinke that we may take also many
wiues.

For Christe hath for byden thys vnto
vs Christians. And lette vs not impute
synne vnto the Iewes because they hadde many
wyues. For they hadde a dispensation so to do.
Christe limiteth on wyfe vnto vs only And it is a
greate thyng for a man to rule one wyfe ryghtly, and
ordinatly. For a woman is frayll and procliue vnto
all euels, a woman is a very weake vessel, and maye
sone deceyue a man, and brynge hym vnto euell. Many
examples we haue in holy scripture. Adam had but

On[e] wyfe is
hard to be wel
ruled.

one wyfe, called Eue, and howe sone had
she brought hym to consent vnto euell,
and to come to destruction, How dyd

wycked Iesabell preuente kyng Hachabs herte from
god and al godlines, and finally vnto destruction. It
is a very hard thyng for a man to rule wel one wo-
man. Therefore let oure kyng, what

A godly wo-
man is to be
chosen.

tyme hys grace shalbe so mynded to take
a wyfe to chose hym one whych is of god,

that is, whyche is of the housholde of fayth. Yea let
all estates be no lesse circumspect in chosynge her,
takyng great deliberation, and then shal not need
dyuormentes, and such myscheues to the euell exam-
ple and sclaunder of our realm, And that she be one

Loue which
is godly is to
be preferred
aboue al erth-
lye thynges in
maryage.

as the kyng can fynd in hys hert to loue
and leade hys life in pure and chaste
espousage, and then shall he be the more
prone and redy to aduance gods glorye,
punishe, and extirpe, the great lecherye

vsed in this realme. Therefore we ought to make a
continuall prayer vnto god, for to graunt oure kynges
grace suche a mate as maye knyt hys hert and heres,
accordyng to goddes ordynaunce and lawe, and not
to consider and cleaue onely to a politike matter or
coniunction, for the enlargynge of dominions, for fuer-
tye and defence of contres, setting apart the institu-
tion and ordinaunce of God. We haue now a prety.

litle shilling, in dede a very pretye one. I haue but
 one I think in my purffe, and the laste daye Notable say-
ing.
 I had put it awaye almoste for an olde
 grote, and so I truste some wyll take them. The
 fynes of the siluer I can not se. But therin is
 prynted a fyne sentence: that is. *Timor Domini*
*fons vitæ vel sapientiæ.** The feare of Prouer. xvi.
 the Lorde is the fountayne of lyle or Wysdome. I
 wolde god this sentence were alwaies printed in
 the herte of the kyng in chosynge hys The well of
life or wisdom.
 wyfe, and in al hys officers. For lyke as
 the feare of God is *fons sapientiæ* or *vitæ*, so
 the forgetting of god is *fons stulticiæ* the fontayne of
 folishnes or of death, althoughe it be Polis if it be
not of God
bryngeth
death.
 neuer so politike, for vpon such politike
 matters death doth ensue and folowe. All
 their deuorcementes and other lyke condicions to
 the greate displeasure of all myghtye God, whiche
 euylls I feare me, is much vsed at these daies in the
 mariage of noble mens children, for io[i]ning landes to
 landes, possessions, to possessions, neither the vertuous
 educacion, nor liuinge being regarded, but in the in-
 fancy such mariages be made, to the displeasuer of
 god and breach of espoufals. Let the king therfor
 chose vnto him a godly wyfe, wherby he shal the
 better liue chaste, and in so liuyng all godlines shal en-
 crease and ryghtewesnes be maynteyned. Notwith-
 standyng, I knowe here after, some wyll come and
 moue your grace towards wantonnes and to the in-
 clinacyon of the fleshe and vayne affections. But I
 would your grace should beare in me-
 morye, an hystorye of a good king called A notable hi-
storye of a
frensh kyng.
 Lewes, that trauelled towards the holye
 lande (whiche was a greate matter in those dayes) and
 by the waye syckyned, beyng longe absente from hys
 wyfe. And vpon thys matter the phisi-
 tians dyd agre, yat it was for lacke of a The good
counsell of
Byshopa.
 woman. And dyd consulte with the

* The fear of the LORD is a fountain of life.—Prov. xiv. 27.

bishops therein, who dyd conclude that because of the distance of hys wyfe (beyng in an other contrye) he should take a wenche. Thys good kyng hering their conclusion would not assent there vnto, but sayde, he had rather be fycke euen vnto death then he wold breake his espousals. Wo worth such confellers, bishops, nay rather buffardes. Neuertheles if the king shoulde haue consented to their conclusyon, and accomplished the same, yf he had not chanced well, they wolde haue executed the matter as I haue harde of two yat haue consulted together, and according to the aduyse of his friend the one of them wrought where the succession was not good.

The other imputed a pefe of reproche to hym for hys such counsell geuen. He excused the matter sayeing: that he gaue hym none other counsel, but if it had byne hys cause he woulde haue done likewise. So I thinke the bishops wolde haue excused the matter, yf the king should haue reproued them for their counsell. I do not

Note. rede that the King did rebuke them for their council, but yf he had, I knowe what woulde haue ben their aunswere. They would haue sayde, we geue you no worse counsel, then we wolde haue folowed oure selues, yf we had ben in like case. Wel sir, thys Kyng

The kynge
fearynge god
auoyded euil dyd wel, and had the feare of god before hys eyes. He wold not walke in by-walkes, where are many balkes. Amongest

many balkinges, is much stumbling and by stombling it chaunceth many tymes to fal downe to the ground. And therefore, let vs not take any biwalkes, but let gods word directe vs, let vs not walke after, nor leane to our owne iudgementes and procedynges of oure forfathers, nor seke not what they dyd, but what th[e]y shoulde haue done, of which thyng scryp-
Deut. xii. a. ture admonysheth vs saying: *Ne inclinamus præceptis et traditionibus patrum neque faciamus quod uidetur rectum in oculis nostris.**

* Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers.—Ezek. xx 18. that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes.
Ye shall not do after all the things —Deut. xii. 8.

Let vs not inclyne our felues vnto the preceptes and tradycyons of oure fathers, nor let vs do that semeth ryght in our eyes. But fuerlye, we wyll not exchange oure fathers doynges and tradicions, with scripture, but cheifely lene vnto them and to theyr prescription, and do that semeth good in oure owne eyes. But fuerly that is goynge downe the ladder, Scala cæli as it was made by the Pope came to be a Masse, but that is a false ladder to bringe men to heauen. The true ladder to brynge a man to heauen is the knowledge and folowyng of scripture. Let the kyng therfore chose a wyfe whych feareth god, let hym not feke a proude, wanton and one ful of rich treasures and worldely pompe. He shall not multiplye vnto hym selfe to muche gold and siluer. Is ther to muche thynke you for a kyng? God doeth alowe muche, vnto a kyng, and it is expediente that he should haue muche, for he hath great expenses, and many occasions to spende muche for the defence and suertie of hys realme and subiectes.

The. iij parte
of the sermon

A kyng may
haue muche,
for his expen-
ces are great.

And necessary it is that a kyng haue a treasure all wayeys in a redynes, for that, and such other affayres, as be dayly in hys handes. The which treasure, if it be not sufficiente, he maye lawfully and wyth a salue conscience, take taxis of hys subiectes. For it were not mete, the treasure, shoulde be in the subiectes purses whan the money shoulde be occupied, nor it were not best for themselues, for the lacke there of, it myght cause both it, and all the rest that they haue shold not long be theirs, And so for a necessarye and expedyent occacion, it is warranted by goddes word to take of the subiectes. But if there be sufficyente treasures, and the burdenynge of subiectes be for a vayne thyng. so yat he wyl require thus much, or so much of his subiects, whyche perchaunce are in great necessitie, and penurye. Then this couetous intent, and the request thereof, is to muche, whych god forbiddeth the king her in this

Note whan
the king hath
to muche of
hys commens.

Who shall se
thys to much

None that be
seruantes to
the Kynge.

of fauer.

Thei bee of

Cō[r]poral eyes
can not se to
much.

Spirytuall
eyes are to be
had, sayeth
charytye.

haue a paier of spectacles, whiche shall haue two cleare syghtes in them, yat is, ye one is sayth, not a seasonable sayeth, which shall laste but a whyle, but a sayeth, whiche is continuynge in God. The seconde cleare sighte is charitie, whych is seruente towards hys Chrysten brother. By them two, must the Kynge se euer whan he hath to mucche. But fewe therbe that vse these spectacles, the more is theyr dampnacion, Not wythoute cause Chrysostome wyth admiracion sayeth.

Chrysostoms
sayinge.

The vnder-
standynge of
yt.

that their charge is maruelous great, and that none aboute them dare shew them the truth of the thing

If God wyll
not graunte
to much vnto
a kyng much
lesse vnto the
subiecte.

Who is not
fauy in ta-
king to much
learne.

Physicions
Lawiers.
Marchantes

counsell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except he geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no kynd of wares can be had, except we geue for it to Landlordes

place of scripture to haue. But who shall se this to much, or tell ye king of this to much. Thinke you anye of the Kynge's preuye chamber? No. For feare of losse Shall any of his sworne chapelins? No. Thei bee of the clauffet and kepe close such matters.

But the Kynge him selfe must se this to much, and yat shall he do by no meanes with the corporal eyes: Wherefore, he must haue a paier of spectacles, whiche shall haue two cleare

syghtes in them, yat is, ye one is sayth, not a seasonable sayeth, which shall laste but a whyle, but a sayeth, whiche is con-

tinuynge in God. The seconde cleare sighte is charitie, whych is seruente towards hys Chrysten brother. By them two, must the Kynge se euer whan he hath to mucche. But fewe therbe that vse these spectacles, the more is theyr dampnacion, Not wythoute cause Chrysostome wyth admiracion sayeth.

Mirror si aliquis rectorum potest saluari.

I maruell if anye ruler can be sauēd.

Whyche wordes he speaketh not of an impossibilitie, but of a great difficultie For

that their charge is maruelous great, and that none aboute them dare shew them the truth of the thing

how it goth. Wel: then, if God wyl not alowe a king to much. Whither wyl he

alowe a subiect to much? no, yat he wil not Whether haue any man here in Eng-

land to much? I doubt most riche men haue to mucche, for wythout to mucche, we

can get nothyng. As for example. The Phisicion. If the pore man be dyseased,

he can haue no helpe without to much? and of ye lawier, the pore man can get no

counsell, expedicion, nor helpe in his matter, except he geue him to much. At marchandes handes, no

kynd of wares can be had, except we geue for it to Landlordes

mucche. You landelordes, you rentreiffers,

I maye faye you steplordes, you vnnaturall lordes, you haue for your possessions yerely to much. For that herebefore went for. xx.

Rentrayers
steplordes.
Vnnatural
Lordes.

or. xl. pound by yere, (which is an honest porcion to be had *gratis* in one Lordeshyp, of a nother mannes sweate and laboure) now is it let for. l. [fifty] or a. C. [hundred] pound by yere. Of thys to muche commeth thys monstereous and portentious dearth- is made by man, not with standynge God doeth sende vs plentifullye the fruites of the earth, mercifullye, contrarye vnto oure desertes, Not wyth standynge to muche, whyche these riche menne haue, causeth suche dearth, that poore menne (whyche liue of theyr laboure) can not wyth the sweate of their face haue a liuinge, all kinde of victales is so deare, pigges, geese, capons, chickens, egges. etc.

Of thys to
muche com-
meth all dear-
this and scarcitie

These thinges with other are so vnreasonably enhanced. And I thinke verely, that if it this continewe, we shal at length: be constrained to paye for a pygge a pounce. I wyl tel you my lordes and maysters, thys is not for the kynges honoure, Yet some wyl saye, knowest thou what belongeth vnto the

Note the co-
uetous men.

This to much
is not for the
kinges honor.

kinges honoure better then we? I answere, that the true honoure of a Kinge, is moost perfectly mencioned and painted furth in the scriptures, of which, if ye be ignoraunt, for lacke of tyme yat ye cannot reade it, albeit, that your counsaile be neuer so politike, yet is it not for the kynges honoure. What his honoure

meaneth ye canot tel. It is the kynges honoure yat his subiectes bee led in the true religion. That all hys prelates and

A description
of the kynges
honour

Cleargie be set about their worcke in preching and studieng, and not to be interrupted from their charge. Also it is

Fyrste in true
religion.

honour that the commen wealth be augmented, that the dearth of these forsaid thynges be prouided for, and the commodities of thys Realme so employed, as it may be to the setting his

ye Kinges

is, a welthy
comminaltie.

subiectes on worke, and kepyng them from idlenes. And herin resteth the kinges honour and hys office, So doyng, his accompte before God shalbe alowed, and rewarded. Furder more, if the kinges honour (as sum men say) standeth in the great multitude of people.

Thyrdly the kynges honnure standeth in the multitude of people.

Then these grasiers, inclosers, and rente-rearers, are hinderers of the kinges honour.

For wher as haue bene a great meany of householders and inhabitauntes, ther is nowe but a shepherd and his dogge, so thei hynder the kinges honour most of al. My lordes and maisters,

I say also, that all suche procedynges which are agaynste the Kynges honoure (as I haue a part declared before) and as far as I can perceiue, do intend plainly, to make the yomanry slauery and the Cleargye shauery.

For sucheworckes are al syngular, priuate welth and commoditye. We of the cleargye had to much, but that is

Clargy had to muche, but nowe to lytle.

taken away. and nowe we haue to litle.

But for myne owne part, I haue no cause to complaine, for I thanke God and the kyng.

I haue sufficient, and God is my iudge I came not to craue of anye man, any thyng, but I knowe theim that haue to litle. There lyeth. a greate matter by these

An example of the clargy.

appropriacions, greate reformacions is to be had in them. I knowe wher is a great

market Towe with diuers hamelets and inhabitauntes, wher do rise yereli of their labours to the value of. l. [fifty] pounce, and the vicar that serueth (being so great a cure) hath but. xii. or. xiiii. markes by yere, so that of thys pension he is not able to by him bokes, nor geue hys neyghboure dryncke, al the great gaine goeth

An example of ye yomanry.

another way. My father was a Yoman,

and had no landes of his owne, onlye he had a farme of. iii. or. iiii. pound by yere at the vttermost, and here vpon he tilled so much as kepte halfe a dosen men. He had walke for a hundred shepe, and my mother mylked. xxx. kyne, He was able and did find the king a harnesse, wyth hym selfe, and hys

horffe, whyle he came to ye place that he should receyue the kynges wages. I can remembre, yat I buckled hys harnes, when he went vnto Blacke heeath felde. He kept me to schole, or elles I had not bene able to haue preached before the kinges maiestie now. He maryed my systers with v. pounce or. xx. nobles a pece, so that he broughte them vp in godlines, and feare of God.

He kept hospitalitie for his pore neighbours. And sum almess he gaue to the poore, and all thys did he of the sayd farme. Wher he that now hath it, paieth. xvi. pounce by yere or more, and is not able to do any thing for his Prynce, for himselfe, nor for his children, or geue a cup of drinke to the pore. Thus al the enhansinge and rearing goth to your priuate commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single to much, you haue that: and fyns the same, ye haue enhansed the rente, and so haue encreased an other to much. So now ye haue doble to muche, whyche is to to much. But let the preacher preach til his tong be worne to the stompes, nothing is amended. We haue good statutes made for the comen welth as vouching comeners, enclofers, many metinges and Sessions, but in the end of the matter their commeth nothing forth. Wel, well, thys is one thyng I wyll saye vnto you, from whens it commeth I knowe, euen, from the deuill. I knowe his intent in it. For if ye bryng it to passe, that the yo manny be not able to put their sonnes to schole (as in dede vniuersities do wonderously decaye all redy) and that they be not able to mary their daughters to the auoidyng of whoredome, I say ye plucke saluation from the people and vtterly destroy the realme. For by yomans sonnes, the fayth of Christ is, and hath bene mayntained chesely. Is this realme taught by rich mens sonnes, No no, reade

No preaching
can healepe
thys euil.

Many statu-
tes but smale
helpe.

The deuill is
the auctoure
of to muche.

To decaye of
learnynge
and puritie of
lyfe.

Saluacion
resteth in them.

Yomens son-
nes be tea-
chers of god

the Cronicles ye shall fynde sumtime noble mennes
 sonnes, which haue bene vnpreaching byshoppes and
 A notable prelates, but ye, shall finde none of them
 thyng. learned men. But verilye, they that
 shoulde loke to the redresse of these thinges, be the
 greatest against them. In thys realme are a great
 meany of folkes, and amongst many, I knowe but one
 of tender zeale. at the mocion of his poore tennauntes,
 hath let downe his landes to the olde rentes for their
 reliefe. For goddes loue, let not him be a Phenix, let
 him not be alone, Let hym not be an Hermite closed
 in a wall, sum good man follow him and do as he
 geueth example. Surueiers there be, yat
 Surueiers be handma- gredyly gorge vp their couetouse, guttes
 kers. hande makers, I meane (honest men I
 touch not) but al suche as suruei thei make vp their
 mouthes but the commens be vtterlye vndone by them.
 The crye of Whose bitter cry ascendyng vp to the
 the poore. eares of the god of Sabaoth, the gredy
 pyt of hel burning fire (without great repentaunce)
 do tary and loke for them. A redresse God graunt.
 For fuerly, fuerly, but yat ii. thynges do comfort me I
 wold despaire of the redresse in these maters. One is,
 that the kinges maiestie whan he commeth to age :
 wyll se a redresse of these thinges so out of frame.
 Geuing example by letting doune his owne landes first
 and then enioyne hys subiectes to folowe him. The
 second hope I haue is, I beleue that the general ac-
 comptyng daye is at hande, the dreadfull day of iudge-
 ment I meane, whiche shall make an end of al these
 calamities and miseries. For as the scryptures be
*Cum dixerint pax pax,** When they shal say peace, peace :
Omnia tuta, all thynges are sure : Then is the day at
 hand, a mery day I saye, for al such as do in this
 worlde studeye to serue and please god and continue in
 his fayth, feare and loue : and a dreadful, horrible day
 for them that decline from God walking in ther owne
 wayes, to whom as it is wrytten in the. xxv of

* Saying, Peace, peace : when there is no peace.—Jer. vi. 14.

Mathew is sayd : *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.** Go ye cursed into euerlastyng punishment. Wher shalbe waylinge and gnashing of teeth. But vnto ye other he shal saye : *Venite benedicti.†* come ye blessed chyldren of my father, possesse ye the kyngdome prepared for you from the beginninge of the worlde, of the which god make vs al partakers.
Amen.

The rewarde
of wycked
men.

The blesse of
the godly.

* Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire.—Matt. xxv. 41.

† Come, ye blessed of my Father.—ver, 34.

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dwellynge at Aldersgate, and
William Seres, dwelling in Peter
Colledge. These booke are to be
sold at the new shop by the
lytle Conduyte in
Chepeside.

¶ Cum gratia et Priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

The seconde

Sermon of Master

Hughe Latemer,

whych he prea=

ched before the

Kynges ma=

iestie, within

hys grac=

ces Palayre at

Westminster

pe. xiiij day of

Marche.

M.cccc.xliij.

Cum gracia et priuilegio ad
imprimendum solum.

To the Reader.



VEN as in tymes past, al men which were honestly bent to the promotinge of vertue and learnynge, found meanes, that the workes of worthy oratours, of famous and renoumed Philosophers, shold be by ye benefit, of publyshing redemed from the tyrannye of obliuion to the great and hygh profyete of cuntryes, of common wealthes, of empyres, and of assemblies of men: lykewyse oughte we to fetch our presydente from those men, and suffre no worthis monument to perish, wherby any good may grow, either to the more godly admyning of polytyke and cyuyl affayres, or elles to the better establyshyng of christian iudgement. Numa Pompilus, who was inaugurated and created king [of] the Romaines next after Romulus, was far more careful and busier in groundyng of Idolatrus religion, as vpon rytes, ceremonies, sacrifices and supersticions, then we are in promotyng of christian religion, to the aduancement of the glorye, due, to the omnipotent maiestie of God hymselfe, who hath reuealed and vttered hys worde vnto vs by hys Prophetes, and last of all, by hys onely begotten sonne Iesus Christ wherby he hath confyrmed our consciences in a more perfect certentie of the truth, then euer they were before. This Numa instituted an Archbyshop for the preseruyng of the Commentaries, contaynyng the solemnities of their religion wyth manye other appendixes, vnited to the office of the high bishoppe. What do we? We haue suppressed. We haue wraisted with fyre, and sword, not onely to deface the wrytynges of such learned men as haue paynefully traueiled to publysh Gods word: but also we haue sturred euery stone, and sought al deuellish deuises, to deteine yat same word of god it selfe from his people.

May not we (and not vnwortheli) be accompted far vnder ye Ethenickes, who wrought onely by naturall mocion and anticipations, wythout breathyng and inspieryng of the holy gost, if we woulde not (I meane not be equall wyth them) but be farre more zelous in promotyng good learnyng and religion then euer thei were. Thei, when thei had suche noble and worthy clearkes (as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) with al diligence, caused ye frutes of those most rare and profound wyttes, to be preserued for their posteritie, that the eyes of al generations myght enioye the fruicion and vse of them, thinking that such wonderful vertues shuld not be buried in the same graue that theyr bodyes were. After so manifold and daungerous shyp wrackes of religion, as in oure tymes we may well remember, wheras the ambitious and blynde prelates (some of wyly wilfulnes, some of grose ignoraunce) ruleth the sterne and euermore blemished the true knowledge of Goddes worde, and dyd theyr indeuoure to obscure the same wyth their politycke and decencie ceremonies, and trompery of supersticions, how oft hath religion bene toft on the stormy sourgis and daungerous rockes of the Romysh seas? Howe oft hath it bene in such a desperate state, that the true mynysters haue bene inforced (as you woulde say) to hoysse vp ancker (the tackling of the shyp beyng broken) and destytute of all other helpe and succoures, to geue ouer the rulyng of the shyppe to God hymselfe, who is only able to saue, when al the world by mannes reason iudgeth it past cure. Such O Lorde is thy mercie and ineffable power, what cristen hert yat fauoureth the glory of God, did not euen lament and bewaile the state of religion, and thought verely the vtter ruine of Christes church to be at hand, seing the late martyrdome of those that suffered? Yet didest thou lord sturre vp thousandes out of their ashes, and what was done of a popysh polycye to suppressse and kepe vnder thy truth, that, of al othei, dyd most set fourth the same. Thou hast deliuered Danyel out of the denne of the lioness, and he

hath set fourth thy worde abroade. But now countreemen, whom God hath blessed by deliuerynge you from the tyranny of the lions and her whelpes, (which went thorow the whole realme sucking the innocent bloude) how vnthanckfull are you vnto God so greatlye neglectynge so specyall a benefyte, fallyng into such a lousenes of lacyuyouse lyuing as the lyke hath neuer bene hard of hereto fore. Euen as ye are growne to a perfeccion in knowledge, so are ye come to a perfeccyon in al mischyeffe. The Heathen, whyche had no other gyde but the law of nature, grauen in the tables of their hart, were neuer so poisoned with the contagion of most horryble heresies, as some of vs Christians which are not ashamed to brag and boaste of the spirite. But it is a phanaticke spirite, a brainicke spirite a sedicious and a malignante spirite. Christ breath his spirite vpon you yat ye may rede ye scriptur with al humblenes and reuerence, to fetch from thence comforte for youre wounded consciences, not to make that lyuely fountayne of lyfe to serue for the fedyng of your idle braines, to dyspute more subtellye thereby, or else by mysunderstandynge of the same to consciue pernicious and annabaptistical opinions. Remember that the seruante whiche knoweth hys maysters wyll and doeth it not, shalbe beaten wyth many strypes. God is a good God, a mercyful God a father whych beareth muche wyth oure croked nature and vnchristian behauour, and very sloth to reuenge hys blasphemie this maintenance of so many vnscripterlye opinions, these brablynges and scismaticke contencions wherin a great packe of vs delyte and repose our glory, al though as fondly, as eroniously, to ye great iclaunder of the godly learned, and also to the hynderaunce of the good succeffe and fre passage of the word of God. But as truly as god is God if we repent not shortly, his plagues and vengauce are not far of, hys indignacyon and wrathe shall be poured from heauen vpon our vngodlynnes. He is long a commyng but when he comes he wil paye whome and (as Lactancius sayeth)

recompence his long sufferance wyth greuous repunishments. The world and the deucl hath bewitched vs that we in our dedes (I feare me to manye of vs) deny God to be God whatsoeuer we pittle pattle with our tonges. Gods word must not be talcked of only, for that is not inough. It must be expressed. Then must we as wel liue the worde as talke the worde, or else, if good lyfe do not insue and folow vpon our readyng to the example of other, we myghte as well spende that tyme in reading of prophane hystories, of cantor-burye tales, or a fit of Roben Hode. Let vs ioyne good lyfe wyth our readyng, and yet al wylbe to lytle. Remembre that the worlde and al that is in it, is mere vanitie, and shall haue an ende. Thou I say, yat thus abusest the gyfte of Godes holy word, and the gratioufnes of the Kynges maiestie, which hath lycensed the to rede the same, for the comfort of thyne owne soule, for the instructing of thi famyly, the education of thy chyl dren, and edefi yng of thy neyghbour. Thou that art so gorgyously apparelled, and feadeth thy corruptible carkasse so dayntely, thou that purchasest so fast, to the vtter vndoing of the poore, consyder wherof thou camest, and wherunto thou shalt returne. Where is then all thy pompe? wher is all thy ruffe of thy glorioufnes become? What wylt thou say for thy selfe in that horrible daye of iudgment, wher thou shalt stand naked before God, where the tables of thine owne conscyence shalbe opened and layed before thyne eies to accuse the. Thou which reysest the rentes so gredely as thoughe thou shouldest neuer haue inough. Thy iudgemente is, throw miserable mammon, so captyuate and blinded, that you canst not tel when you hast inough, or what is inough? Truly, a litle is to much for him yat knowes not how to vse much well. Therefore learne fyrst the vse of monei and riches, and some other honeste meanes to attayne them, that thys thyne insaciab le couetousnes and vnlawful desyryng of other mens goodes, maye be reduced to some reasonable measure,

and that it do not exceede the lymyttes or compasse of honestie, and the bondes of brotherly loue, lest God (before whom thou shalt appere one day, to rendre a strayght accomptes, for the dedes done in thy flesh) burden and charge the wyth thy vnmerciful handling of thy Tennant (but yet notwithstandyng thy brother) whom, wyth newe Incomes, fynes, inhauncyng of rentes, and such lyke vnreasonable exactions, thou pilles, polles, and miserablie oppresses. When that terrible day shall once come, a lytle of Gods mercye wyll be worth a masse or a whole h[e]pe of thy monei. Ther thy wicked Mammon, whom thou serueste lyke a slaue can purchase the no mercy. There thy money so gleaned and gathered of the and thyne (to the impoueryshment of many to make the only ryche) can not preuayle the, nor yet redeme thy cause before that iuste and seure iudge, which then, and ther, wil render to ye, the selfe same measure yat you measureste to other men? What dyd we speake of preuaylyng, or redeming of thy cause with monei. Nay then thy monei, and the roust of thy gold shal be a wytnes against ye and shal eat thy fleshe as the fyre. Howe frantycke and folysh myght al wyse men, wel iudge and deme him to be, which agaynste the daye of hys araignement (when he should stand vpon the tryall of death and lyfe) woulde busy him self, his folkes, and his frendes, to prepare and get many wytnesses agaynste him to cast him awaye by theyr euidence and witnes: and to prouide suche menne as shoulde be the onelye cause of hys death. Euen. So frantycke, and so folysh art thou which doth toyle, trauayle, and turmoyle so earnestly and busyllye aboute the gettinge of goodes and rytches, before thou hast well learned and taken furth of the lesson, of well vsyng the same. Howbeit, truelye I doute much of the well vsyng of yat, whych Prouerb. xlix. was neuer well nor truely gotten. Learne therefore first, to know what is inough. For the wyseman sayth, it is better to haue a lytle with the fear

of the Lorde, then great and infaciabie rytches. Sopho-
nye saythe their golde shall not be able to delyuer them in the day of the Lordes wrath. Sophoni. i. [Zephaniah i. 18.]
Let your conuersacion be without couet- i. Hebre. iij.
ousnes, and be content with that ye haue alredi
Godlines is a great ryches, if a man be content wyth
suche as God sendes. For we brought i. Timoth. vi
nothyng into this world, neither shal we carry anye
thyng out. When we haue foode and rayment, let vs
therwyth be content. Behold, thy Scholemaster
Paule teaches the here a good lesson. Here thou
mayst learne wel inough, to know what is inough.
But lest thou shouldest feare at any time, the want or
lacke of this inoughe. Here farther the rest of thy
lesson. For god verely sayth. The Lorde is myne
helper, I wyll not fere what man doeth to me. If
the Reuenues and yerely Rentcs of thy patrymony
and landes, be not inough, nor sufficient for thi
fyndyng, and wyl not suffice thy charges, then
moderate thyne expences, borrow of thy two next
neighbours, that is to say, of thy backe and thi belly,
Learne to eat within thy teather. Pul downe thy
sayle. Saye downe proud hert. Mayntayn no greater
port, then thou art able to bear out and support of
thyne owne prouision. Put thy hand no further then
thy fleue will reache. Cut thy cloth after the mesure.
Kepe thy house after the spendyng. Thou must not
pil an[d] powle the Tenant, that thou mayest haue (as
they sai) *unde*, and that thy neuer inough to rufful it out
in a riatous ruffe and a prodigal, disolute, and lisen-
ciouse liuing. We rede in the scripture, geue to
euery manne his dutye, tribute, to whom tribute be-
longeth, custome to whom Custome, is due. Feare
to whom Feare belongeth, honoure to whom honoure
partayneth. But we finde not there, nor elles where,
fynes to whom fynes, incomes to whome incomes.
Paul was not acquainted with none of those termes.
Belyke they wer not vsed and commen vp in his time,
or else he wold haue made mencion of them. Yeat

not withstanding, we deny not but these reasonable required and vpon honest couenantes and contractes, are more tollerable, and so vsed, so maye be permitted. But the couenantes and the contractes we remitte to the godly wysdome of the hie magistrates, who (we pray god) may take such order and

Esau v. direction in this, and al other, yat the commen people may be relyued and eased of, many importable charges and iniuries, which many of them, contrary to al equitye and ryght, sustaine. But wo worth this couetousnesse, not without skylle called the rote of all, euyl. If couetousnes were not, we thincke many things amisse, should shortelye be redressed. She is a mighty Matrone a Lady of great power. She hath reteyned moo seruantes then any Lady hath in Englande. But marke how well in fyne, She hath rewarded her seruantes, and lerne to be wyse by another mans harme. Acham by the commaunde-
Deutro. xviij. mente of God, was stoned to death, because he toke of the excommunicate goodes. Saul moued wyth couetousnes disobeied goddes worde, reseruinge the King, Agag and a parsell of the fatteste of the cattie, and lost hys kyngdome therby. Gehize was strycken wyth leaprosy and all hys posteritie, because he toke money and rayment, of Naaman. The rich and vnmerciful gloton, whych fared well and depntely euery day, was buried in hel, and there he taketh nowe such fare as the deuyl hymself doth. Woo be to you, that ioyne house to house, and feeelde to feeld, shall ye alone inhabyte the yearth. Let these terrible examples suffyce at thys preasent, to teach, and admonysh, the inhaunser of Rentes, the vnresonable exactour and gredye requirer of fienes and incomes, the couetouse lease monger, the deuourer of townes and contryes as M. Latimer tearmeth them rightly. If these scriptures (with yat which thei may rede in these godly sermones) do not pearse their stony hertes (we feare) more will not serue. The Lord be merciful to them. But nowe to the wycked Iudge, which corruptes iustyce

for Brybes. Here he may learne also the lesson that Moses taughte long before thys time, he maiestrate and Iudges in the common wealth of Iosue vii. Israell. Be no acceptor of personnes neyther be desirous of giftes, for they make wise men blinde, and chaunge the mynde of the ryghtuouse. In iudgement be merciful to the fatherles as a father, and be in stead of an husband vn[to] theyr mother. The vngodly taketh giftes oute of the bosome, to wraist the wayes of iudgement. Let hym that rules be dyligent sayth Paul. What meaneth he bi this terme, diligent? He requyres no such diligence as the most part of our lucratiue lawyers do vse, in deferryng and prolongyng of matters, and accions from Terme to Terme, and in the tractynge of tyme in the same. Wher perchaunce the tytle or the ryght of the matter myght haue come to lyght, and bene tryed long before. If the Lawyers and the Iudges would haue vsed such diligence as Paule would haue them to do.

i. To the Kinges. xv.
Ecclesiastical
xiiij.
Prouer. xvii.

But what care ye lawyers for Paul? Paul was but a mad man of lawe to controlle them for their diligence. Paul, yea and Peter to, coude better skil of mending of an olde net, of clouting of an old tent, then to teach lawiers what dyligence they should vse in the expedition, of matters. Whi? but be not lawiers diligent say ye? Yea truly are thei and to diligent to for some mens profytes. And about their own profit ther are no more diligenter men nor busier persons in al England they trudge in ye tearme time to and fro. They[y] applye the world harde. They for slow no tyme. Thei follow Sifes and Sessions, Letes, Lawdays and Hundredes, they shold serue the kyng, but thei serue them selues. And howe thei vse, nay rather abuse, their office in the same, some good manne wyll tell theym thereof. We lacke a fewe moo Latymers, a fewe moo suche Preachers. Such playn Pasquyls, we pray God prouide for vs, that kepeth nothing backe. Of the whych sort and numbere, we

may most worthely reckon this saythful mynister of God, and constant Preacher of his word Master Hugh Latimer, which by hys perseueraunce and stedfastnes in the truth hath stablyshed this waueryng world. He hath bene toft for the truthes sake, and tried with the stormes of persecution, as golde in the fornace. He is one, whom, as well for hys learned, sounde, and chatholyke iudgement, in the knoweledge of Gods worde, as for his integretie and example of christian conuersation, all we and (specially mynisters and prelates) ought to set before our eyes, as a pryncipall patrone to imytate and follow, desyryng God, who hathe styrred vp in him, the bold spirite of Helias, maye dayly more and more augment the same in hym, and may also provide many such preaching prelates, which both so wel could, and so willingly wold franckely vtter ye trueth, to the extolling of vertue, the rewarde of well doers, the suppressyng of vice, the abolishment of all papestrie. It is oure parte therefore to praye diligently for his continual health and that he may liue longe amonge vs in a florishinge old auge, and not (as some in grate in humaine persons) to maligne and depraue him for yat he so frankely and liberallye taxed perstringed and openly rebuked before the Kinges Magestie ye peculiar fauts of certayne of his auditours, but it is oure part, rather thankfully to accept and in good part take his godly aduertisment, onles we be mynded to prefer oure muckye monie and false felicitie before the ioyse of heauen, or els beleue (as ye Epecurs do) that after this life ther is neither hel nor heauen. Receiue thankfully (gentle reader these sermons faithfullie collected) without al sinister suspition of anye thyng in the same added or adempte .:

Finis.

The. xxi. day of Iune.

The seconde sermon



*Væcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam. etc.** All thinges yat are written in Gods boke, in the holye Byble, they were wrytten before oure tyme, but yet to continue from age to age as long as the worlde doeth stand.

In thys Boke is containyd doctrine for al estates, euen for kynges. A kynge herein maye learne how to gyde hymselfe, I tolde you in my laste sermon muche of the dutye of a kyng. And ther is one place behynd yet, and it foloweth in ye texte. *Postquam autem federit in folio regni sui, et cete.†* And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys kyngdome, he shall wryte hym out a boke and take a copy of ye priestes or Leuites. He shall haue the boke wyth hym, and why? to reade in it all the dayes of hys lyfe, to learne to feare God, and learne hys Lawes and other thynges, as it foloweth in the texte wyth the appurtenaunces and hangynges on, that he turne not frome God, neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the lefte. And wherfore shal he do thys? that he may lyue longe, he and hys children. Hytherto goeth the texte. That I maye declare thys the better to the edifynge of youre soules and the glory of God, I shall desyre you to praye etc.

Et pos[t]quam federit. etc. Before I enter into thys

* Rom. xv. 4.

† And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites:

And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life; that he may learn to fear the

LORD his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them.

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left. to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.—Deut. xvii. 18—20.

place (right honourable audience) to furnysh it accordyngly, whych by the grace of god I shal do at leyfure, I woulde repete the place I was in last, and furnyshe it wyth a story or two whyche I lefte oute in my last sermon. I was in a matter concerning the sturdines of the Iewes, a frowarde and styfnecked kynde of people, much lyke oure Englyshe men now a dayes, that in the minoritye of a Kynge, take vpon them to breke lawes and to go by wayes. For when god had promised them a kynge, when it came to point they refused hym. These men walked by walkes, and the sayynge is many biwalkes, many balkes, manye balkes muche stumblynge, and where muche stumblynge is, there is sometyme a fal, howbeit ther were some good walkers among them, that walked in ye kynges highe waye ordinarilye, vp-rightlye, playne Dunstable waye, and for thys purpose, I woulde shewe you an hystorye whiche is written in the thyrd of the kynges.*

Kynge Dauid beyng in his chylthode, an old man, in hys second chylthode, for al old men are twise chylthren, as the Prouerb is. *Senex bis puer*. An olde manne, twyse a chylde, it happened wyth him, as it doth oftentymes, when wicked men, of a Kinges chylthode take occasion of euyl.

Thys Kynge Dauid beyng weake of nature and impotente, in so muche that when he was couered with clothes, he coulde take no heate, was counsayled of hys seruantes to take a sayre yonge mayde to nouryshe hym, and to keepe hym warme in hys bodye. I suppose she was hys wyfe. Howe be it he hadde no bodilye companie wyth hyr, and wel she myghte be hys wyfe. For thoughe the scripture doeth saye. *Non cognouit eam*. He knewe hyr not, he had no carnal copulation with hyr yet it sayeth not. *Non duxit eam Vxorem*. He married hyr not. And I canne not thynke that king Dauid woulde haue hyr too warme hys bosome in Bedde, excepte shee hadde

* 2 Kings, i. and ii. chap.

bene hys wyfe, hauynge a difpenfation of God to haue as manye wyues as he woulde. For God had difpenfed wyth theym to haue manye wyues. Wel, what happened to kyng Dauid in hys childehode, by ye chylde of the deuyll? Ye fhall heare. Kynge Dauid hadde a proud fonne, whose name was Adonyas, a man ful of ambition, defyerouse of honoure, alwayes clymbyng, climbynge. Nowe, whylfe the tyme was of his fathers childhode, he wold depofe hys father, not knoweyng of hys fathers mynd, faying. *Ego regnabo.* I wil raigne, I wyll be kyng, he was a ftoute ftomaked chylde, a biwalker, of an ambitious mynde, he wold not confente to hys fathers frendes, but gate hin a charet, and men to runne before it, and dyuerfe other adherentes to helpe hym forwarde, worldelye wife men, fuch as had bene before of hys fathers counfayle, great men in the world, and fome no doute of it, came of good wil thynkyng no harme, for they woulde not thynke that he did it wythoute hys fathers wyll, hauynge fuch greate men to fet hym forth, for euery man cannot haue acceffe at al tymes to the kyng to knowe hys pleafure, well: algates he woulde be Kynge, and makes a great feaft, and thither he called Ioab the ryngleader of hys fathers armye, a worldly wyfe man, a bywalker, that would not walke the Kynges hye way, and one Abiather the hyghe priefte. For it is maruayle if any mifchyefe be in hand, if a priefte be not at fome ende of it, they toke hym as Kynge, and cried, *Viuat rex Adonias.* God faue kyng Adonias. Dauid fuffered all thys, and lette hym alone, for he was in hys chyldehode a bedred man.

But fe howe God ordered the matter, Nathan the Prophete and Sadoc a priefte, and Banaya, and Crethytes, and Phelethyts the Kyngs gard, they were not called to the feaft.

Thefe were good men, and woulde not walke bywayes, therefore it was foly to breake the matter to them, they were not called to counfell.

Therefore Nathan when he hearde of thys, he commeth to Bethsabe Salomons mother and sayeth. Heare ye not howe Adonias the sonne of Ageth, rayneth kynge, Daud not knowinge? And he bad hyr put the kynge in mynde of hys oth that he sware that hyr sonne Salomon should be kinge after hym, thys was wise counsayle accordynge to the Prouerbe. *Qui Vadit plane, uadit sane.*

He that walketh in the hie playne waye, walketh safelye. Vpon thys she wente and brake the matter to Daud, and desired hym to shewe who shold raynge after hym in Hierusalem, addinge that if Adonias were kynge, she and hyr sonne after hys death shoulde be destroyed, sayng. *Nos erimus peccatores.* We shalbe finners, we shalbe taken for traytors, for though we ment no harme but walked vprightly yet bicause we went not the byway with hym, he beyng in authoritie wyl destroy vs. And by and by cometh in Nathan, and taketh hyr tale by the ende, and sheweth him how Adonias was saluted kynge and that he hadde byld to diner the Kynges seruantes, al sauynge hym and Sadoc, and Banaia and al hys brethren the kings sonnes saue Salomon. Kynge Daud remembryng hym selfe swore, as sure as God lyueth, Salomon my son shall raygne after me, and by and by commaunded Nathan and Sadoc and hys garde the Cerethes and Philites, to take Salomon hys sonne and sette hym vpon hys mule, and anoynt hym Kyng, and so they dyd, crynge, *Viuat Salomon Rex.* Thus was Salomon throned, by the aduise and wyl of hys father, and thoughte he were a chylde, yet was his wyl to be obeyed and fulfilled, and they ought to haue knowen hys pleasure. Whylse this was a doing there was suche a Ioye and outcrye of the people for theyr newe Kynge, and blowynge of trumpetes, yat Ioab and the other company beyng in theyr iolitye, and kepyng good cheare: herde it, and sodaynlye asked what is thys ado? And when they perceiued yat Salomon by ye aduise of hys father was annoynted

Kyng, by and by ther was all whyfht, all theyr good chere was done, and al yat were wyth Adonias wente away, and lette hym raygne alone, if he woulde, and whye? He walked a bywaye and God would not prospere it.

God wyll not worcke wyth priuate authoritie, nor wyth anye thinge done inordinatlye. When Adonias saw this that he was left alone, he toke sanctuary, and held by the hornes of the aultare and fware that he woulde not departe thence, tyll Salomon woulde sweare that he shoulde not leafe hys life. Here is to be noted the notable sentence, and greate mercy of Kyng Salomon.

Lette hym sayeth he order hym selfe lyke a quiete manne and there shall not one heere fall from hys head.

*Sed si inuentum fuerit malum in eo.**

But if there shall be any euyll found in hym if he hath gone aboute anye mischyeffe, he shall dye for it. Vpon thys he was broughte into Salomon, and as the boke sayeth, he dyd homage vnto hym, and Salomon sayed to hym. *Vade in domum tuam.†*

Gette the into thy house, bilyke he meante to warde, and ther to se hys wearynge, as if he shoulde saye, shewe thyselfe wythoute gall of ambition, to be a quiet subiecte, and I wyll pardon the for thys tyme. But I wyll se the wearynge of the.

Here wee maye se the wonderfull great mercye of Salomon for thys notorious treason, yat Adonias had committed, it was a plaine matter, for he suffered hymselfe to be called kyng, it hung not of vehement suspition or coniecture nor sequel or consequent yet notwythstandynge Salomon for that present, forgauē hym, sayinge. I wyl not forget it vtterlye, but I wyll kepe it in suspense, I wyll take no aduantage of the at thys tyme. This Adonias and Absolon were brethren, and came boeth of a straung mother, and Absolon lykewyse was a traytour, and made an in-

* But if wickedness be found in him, he shall die.—1 Kings i. 32. † Go to thine house.—ver. 53.

surrection agaynst hys father. Beware therefore these mothers and let kynges take hede howe they mary, in what houffes, in what fayeth. For strang bryngyng vp, bringeth straunge maners. Nowe geueth Dauid an exhortation to Salomon, and teacheth him the dutye of a Kynge, and geueth hym a lesson, as it foloweth at large in ye boke, and he that lyst to reade it, maye se it ther at full. But what doeth Adonias all thys whyle? He must yet clymbe agayne, ye gal of ambition was not out of his hert. He wil now mary Abisaas the yonge quene that warmed king Dauids bosome, as I told you, and commeth me to Bersaba, desyering hyr to be a meane to Salamon hyr sonne that he myght obtayne hys purpose. And bryngeth me out a couple of lyes at a clappe, and committeth me two vnlawfull actes. For fyrste he would haue bene Kynge wythoute hys fathers consente, and now he wyl mary his fathers wife, and the. ii. lyes are these. Fyrste, sayed he to Bersabe, thou knowest that the Kyngedome belongeth to me, for I am the elder. The kyngedome was myne, he lyed falsely it was none of his. Then sayed he all the eyes of Israel were caste vpon me, that is to saye, all Israel consented to it, and there he lyed falsely. For Nathan, Sadoc, and other wyse men, neuer agreed to it. Here was a greate enterpryce of Adonias, he wyl be climbing styll. Well Bersabe wente at hys requeste to hyr sonne Salomon, and asked a boune, and he graunted hyr what so euer she did aske. Notwithstanding he brake his promise afterward and that right well, for all promises are not to be kept, speciallye if they be agaynste the worde of God. Or not standyng with a commune profit, and therefore as sone as Salomon heard yat Adonias would haue maryed the yonge quene Abisaak: naye then let hym be kynge to: sayed he. I perceyue now that he is a naughty man, a proude herted fellow, the gal of ambition is not yet out of his herte, and so commaunded him to be put to death. Thus was Adonias put to execution, wher as if he had kepte

hys house and not broken hys iniunction, he myght haue lyued stil. Abiathar, what became of him. The king (because he had serued his father before him) woulde not put him to deth, but made him as it were a quondam. Bicause thou hast bene with mi father saied he, and didest cary the arke before hym I wyl not kyl the.

But I wyll promyse the thou shalte neuer minister anye more. *Vade in agrum tuum?* * Get the to thy lande, and lyue there. A greate matter of pity and compassion, so God graunt vs al, such mercy. And here was the ende of Elis stocke, accordyng to the promise and threatening of God. As for the Phelethites we do not read yat they were punyshed. Mary Semei traungressed his Iniunction for he kepte not hys house, but wente oute of Hierusalem to seke two seruantes of hys yat had runne from hym, and when it came to Salomons eare, it coste hym hys life. I haue ript the matter nowe to the pyll, and haue tolde you of playne walkers, and of biwalkers, and how a kynge in hys childehode is a kynge, as wel, as in any other age. We reade in scripture of suche as were but. xii. or. viii. yeares olde, and yet the worde of the holy Gooste called them kynges, sayinge. *Cepit Regnare.* He began to raygne, or he began to be kynge. Here is of bywalkers. Thys hyforye would be remembred, the Prouerbe is.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

Happy is he that can beware by an other mans ieoperdy. For if we offende not as other do, it is not oure owne desertes.

If we fal not, it is Goddes preferuation. We are all offenders For other we maye do, or haue done, or shall do (excepte God preferue vs) as euyll as the worste of them. I pray God we maye all amende and repente. But we wyll all amende nowe I truste. We mustes neades amende our lyues euerye man. The holy communion is at hand, and we may not receyue it vnworthelye.

* Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields.—x Kings i. 26.

Wel, to retorne to my history. Kynges Daudid I say was a kyng in his second childhode And so, yonge kynges though they be chylde, yet are they kynges notwithstandynge, and thoughe it be wrytten in scripture. *Væ tibi O terra ubi puer est rex.** Wo to the, O Lande, where ye king is a chylde: if foloweth in an other place. *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis.†* Blessed is the Lande, where there is a noble kyng. Where Kynges be no banketers, no players, and they spend not the tyme in haukyng and huntynge.

And when hadde the kynges maiestye a Councell that toke more payne boeth night and day for the settinge forth of Gods word, and profit of the commune wealth. And yet there be some wycked people that wyll saye.

Tushe, thys geare wyll not tarye, it is but my Lorde Protector, and my Lorde of Canterburys doynge. The Kinge is a child, he knoweth not of it.

Iesu mercy, how lyke are we Englyshe men to the Iewes, euer stubburne, styfnecked, and walkynge of bye wayes. Yea I thynke no Iewe woulde at any tyme saye. This geare wil not tary. I neuer hearde nor read at any time yat they sayed.

These lawes were made in such a kynges dayes, when he was but a chylde. Let vs alter them. O Lorde what pitye is thys that we shoulde be worse then the Iewes?

Blessed be the lande faith the worde of God, wher the Kyng is noble. What people are they that saye. The kyng is but a chylde? Haue not wee a noble Kyng? Was there euer Kyng so noble? So Godlye? broughte vp wyth so noble counsaylours? so excellent and well learned Scholemaisters? I wyll tell you thys, and I speake it euen as I thynke. Hys maiestye hath more Godlye wytte and vnderstandynge, more lernynge and knowledge at thys age, then. xx. of hys

* Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.—Eccles. x. 16.

† Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles.—Eccles. x. 17.

progenitors that I coulde name had at anye tyme of theyr lyfe.

I tolde you in my laste sermon of ministers of the kinges people and had occation to shewe you howe few noble men were good preachers, and I left out an hystory then whyche I wyl nowe tell you.

There was a byshop of Winchester in Kyng Henry the. vi. dayes, whyche kynge was but a chylde, and yet were there manye good Actes made in hys childehode, and I do not read that they were broken.

Thys byshoppe was a great man borne, and did beare such a stroke, that he was able to shoulder the Lord Protector. Well, it channced yat the Lorde Protectoure and he fell out, and the byshoppe would beare nothyng at all wyth hym, but played me the *Satrapa*, so that the regente of Fraunce was faine to be sent for from beyond the Seas to set them at one, and to go betwene them.

For the byshoppe was as able and readye to buccle wyth the Lorde Protectoure, as he was wyth hym.

Was not this a good prelate? he shold haue bene at home a preachynge in hys Dioces in a wanian. Thys Protector was so noble and Godly a man, that he was called of euerye man the good Duke Humfrey. He kept suche a housse as neuer was kept fence in Englande, wythout any enhaunfing of rentes I warrant you, or any such matter. And the byshop for standing so styflye by the matter, and bearynge vp the order of our mother ye holie church, was made Cardinall at Calice, and thyther the byshop of Rome sent hym a cardinals hatte, he shold haue had a Tiburne tippet, a halpeny halter, and all suche proude prelates. These Romish hertes [hats?] neuer broughte good into Englande.

Vpon thys the bishop goeth me to the quene Katherin the kinges wife, a proud woman and a stout, and perswaded hir that if ye duke were in such authoritie styl, and lyued, ye people wold honor him more then they dyd the king. And ye king shold

not be fet by, and so betwen them, I can not tel how it came to pas, but at S. Edmundes bury in a parliment the good Duke Humfrey was smothered.

But nowe to returne to my texte, and to make further rehearfall of ye same, the matter beginneth this. *Et pos[t]quam federit rex** And when the kyng is sette in the feate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forsothe fyr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkyng bycause he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your self sir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntyng or such lyke pleasures. But he muste vse them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called pastime with good companye. He must write out a boke hym selfe. He speaketh of wrytyng bicause printyng was not vsed at yat tyme.

And shall the Kynge wryte it out hym selfe? He meaneth he 'shall se it wrytten, and rather then he 'shoulde be wythout it, wryte it hym selfe.'

Iesus mercy, is God so chary wyth a kynge to haue hym wel brought vp and instructed? Yea forsoth. For if the kyng be well ordered, the realme is wel ordered. Where shall he haue a copy of thys boke? of the Leuits. And why? Bicause it shal be a true cople, not falsified.

Moyse leste the boke in an olde cheste, and the Leuites had it in kepyng. And bycause ther should

1. 14 And . . . when he sitteth, &c.—Deut xvii. 18; see text at n. 55.

be no errour, no addition, nor takynge away from it, he byddeth hym fetch the copy of the Leuites. And was not here a greate miracle of God, how this boke was preferued? It had layne hyd many yeres and the Iewes knew not of it.

Therefore at lengthe when they had found it and knew it: they lamented for theyr ignoraunce, that had so long bene wythoute it, and rente theyr clothes, repentyng theyr vnfaythfulnes, and so ye holye byble Goddes boke, that we haue among vs, it hathe bene preferued hytherto by a wonderful miracle of God (though the kepers of it were neuer so malitiouse) firste euer fythe the byshop of Rome was firste in authoritye, they haue gone about to destroy it, but God worketh wonderfully, he hathe preferued it maugie theyr beardes, and yet are we vnthankefull that we cannot consider it. I wil tel you, what a byshoppe of thys realme sayed once to me, he sent for me and merueyled that I woulde not consente to suche traditions, as were then sette out.

And I answered hym that I woulde be ruled by Gods boke and rather then I woulde dissent one iote from it I woulde be torne wyth wylde horsses.

And I chaunced in our communication to name the Lordes supper? Tushe sayeth the Byshop. What do ye call the Lordes supper? What newe terme is that? There stode by hym a dubber, one Doctour Dubber he dubbed hym by and by and sayed that this terme was seldome rede in the doctours.

And I made answer, yat I wold rather folowe Paule in vsyng hys termes then them though they hadde all the doctours on theyr syde. Whye sayed the byshoppe, can not we wythoute scriptures order ye people? How dyd they before the scripture was fyrste wrytten and copied out? But God knoweth, ful yl. yet woulde they haue ordered them. For seyng that hauyng it, they haue deceyued vs in what case shold we haue bene nowe wythout it? But thanks be to God yat by so wonderful a miracle he hathe preferued ye boke

ityll. It foloweth in the texte *Habebit secum etc.** He shal haue it with hym in hys progresse, he muste haue a man to carry it, that when he is haukyng and hunting or in any pastime, he maye alwayes commune with them of it. He shall reade in it not once a yere, for a tyme, or for hys recreation when he is weary of haukyng or hunting but *Cunctis diebus vitæ suæ.*† All ye dayes of hys lyfe. Where are those worldlynges now? These bledder puffed vp wyllye men? Wo worth them that euer they were about any Kynge. But howe shall he read thys boke? as the Homilies are read. Some call theym homlyes, and in dede so they maye be well called, for they are homely handeled.

For though the priestes reade theym neuer so well, yet if the Paryshe like them not, ther is suche talkyng and bablyng in the churche, that nothyng can be heard, and if the parish be good, and the priest naught he wil so hacke it, and choppe it, that it were as good for theym to be wythout it for any worde that shal be vnderstande. And yet the more pitye. Thys is suffred of your graces byshops in theyr dioces vnpunished.

But I wyll be a suter to youre grace that ye wyll geue youre byshoppes charge yer they go home, vpon theyr allegiaunce to loke better to theyr flocke, and to se your maiesties iniunctions better kepte, and sende youre visitours in theyr tayles.

And if they be founde negligente or faulty in theyr duties oute with them. I require it in Gods behalfe, make them quondams all the packe of them. But peraduenture ye wil saye. Where shall we haue anye to put in theyr rouses.

In dede I were a presumptuous fellow to moue your grace to put them oute, if there were not other to put in theyr places. But youre maiestye hath diuers of youre chaplayns, well learned men, and of good

* And it shall be with him, &c.—
Deut. xvii. 29: see text at p. 55.

† All the days of his life.—*Idem*

knowledge, and yet ye haue some that be bad inough, hangers on of ye court. I meane not those. but if your maiesties chaplayns, and my Lorde Protectours be not able to furnishe theyr places, there is in thys realme, thankes be to God, a greate syghte of laye men wel learned in the scriptures, and of vertuouse and Godly conuersation, better lerned then a greate sight of vs, of the cleargy.

I can name a numbre of them that are able and woulde be glad I dare say to minister ye function if they be called to it. I moue it of conscience to youre grace, lette them be called to it orderly, let them haue institution, and gyue them the name of ye cleargye. I meane not the name onlye, but lette theym, do the function of a byshop, and lyue of the same. Not as it is in many places, that one shoulde haue the name, and eyghte other the profytte.

For what an enormitie is this in a christian realme to serue in a ciuilitye, hauynge the profyt of a Prouestshyp and a Deanry, and a Personage.

But I wyll tell you what is lyke to come of it. It wyl bryng the cleary shortely into a very slauerye. I maye not forget here my *Scala cæli*, that I spoke of in my laste sermon. I wyll repete it now againe, desiering your grace in Goddes behalfe that ye wyll remembre it.

The Byshop of Rome had a *Scala cæli*, but his was a mas[s] matter. This *Scala cæli*, is the true ladder that bryngeth a manne to heauen, the toppe of the ladder or fyrst greese, is thys.

Who so euer calleth vpon the name of the Lorde, shall be saued. The seconde stepe. Howe shall they call vppon hym, in whom they haue no beleue.

The thyrd stayer is thys. How shal they beleue in hym of whom they neuer heard? The fourth stepe. Howe shall they heare wythout a preacher. Nowe the nether ende of the ladder is. Howe shall they preach, except they be sent. This is the fote of the ladder, so that we maye go backward now, and vse ye

schole argument. *A primo ad ultimum.* Take away preachinge, take away saluation.

But I feare one thyng, and it is : lest for a falsety of a little money, you wyll put in chauntrye Priestes, to faue theyr pentions.

But I wyll tell you, Christe boughte Soules wyth hys bloude, and wyll ye sell theym for golde or syluer.

I woulde not that ye should do wyth chauntrye priestes, as ye dyd wyth the Abbotes, when Abbeyes were put downe.

For when theyr enormities were fyrste read in ye parliment house, they were so greate and abhominable, that there was nothyng but downe with them. But within a whyle after, the same Abbottes were made byshops as there be some of them yet a lyue to faue and redeme theyr pentions. O Lorde, thinke ye, that God is a sole, and seeth it not, and if he se it, wyl he not punyshe it. And so nowe for falsety of money, I wold not yat ye should put in chauntry priestes, I speake not now against suche chauntry priestes as are able to preache, but those that are not able I wyll not haue them put in. For if ye do thys ye shall Answere for it.

It is in the text, that a king ought to feare god, he shal haue the dreade of God before hys eyes, worcke not by worldelye polycye, for worldly policie feareth not God.

Take hede of these claubacks, these venemouse people that wyll come to you, that wyll folowe lyke gnatoes and Parasites, if you folowe theym, you are oute of youre boke. If it be not accordynge to Gods worde that they counsayle you, do it not for any wordly polycye, for then ye feare not God.

It foloweth in the texte. *Vt non eleuetur cor eius.** That he be not proude aboue hys brethern. A kynge muste not be proude, for God myght haue made hym a shepheard, when he made him a kyng, and done hym no wronge.

* That his heart be not lifted up above his brethern.—Deut. xviij. 191
see text at p. 55.

There be many examples of proude kynges in scripture.

As Pharao that woulde not heare the message of God. Herode also, yat put Iohn Baptyst to death, and wolde not heare hym, he tolde hym that it was not lawefull for hym to marye hys brothers wyfe.

Ieroboam also was a proude kynge. An other kynge there was that worshipped straunge Gods and Idols, of those men whom he had ouercome before in battayle, and when a prophet tolde hym of it. What sayd he. Who made you one of my councel. These were proud kynges, theyr ensamples are not to be followed.

But wherefore shall a kynge feare God, and turne neyther to the ryght hande, nor to the left? Wherefore shall he do all thys? *Vt longo tempore regnet, ipse et filii eius.** That he may raigne long, he and hys chyldren. Remembre thys I besech your grace. And when these flatterers, and flybbergybes an other daye shall come and clawe you by the backe and say.

Syr trouble not your selfe? What should you study? Why shold you do this or that. Your grace maye answer them thus, and say. What Syrre, I perceyue you are wery of vs, and our posteritye. Doeth not God sai in such a place. That a king shold wryt oute a boke of Gods lawe, and reade it? learne to feare God. And whye? That he and his, might raygne long, I perceyue nowe thou arte a traytoure.

Tell hym thys tale once, and I warrant you he wyll come no more to you, neyther he, nor any other after such a sorte.

And this shal your grace driue these flatterers and claubackes awaye. And I am afrayed I haue troubled you to longe.

Therefore I wyl furnyshe the texte nowe wyth an hystory or two, and then I wyll leaue you to God. Ye haue heard how a kyng ought to passe ye tyme. He

* That he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children.—Deut. xvii. 20; see text at p. 55.

muste read the boke of God, and it is not inoughe for hym to reade, but he must be acquainted wyth all scripture, he must studye, and he muste praye, and howe shall he do both these.

He maye learne at Salomon,

God spake vnto Salomon, when he was made a kynge, and bade hym aske of hym what he woulde, and he should haue it. Make thy petition sayed God, and thou shalt obtayne.

Nowe marke Salomons prayer. *domine, O domine deus,** sayd he. O Lorde God, it is thou that hast caused me to raigne, and haste set me in my fathers seate, for thou God onelye doeste make kynges. Thus should Kynges prayse God, and thanke God as Salomon dyd.

But what was his petition? Lorde, sayed he. *Da mihi cor docile.* He aske a docible herte, a wyse herte, and wysedome to go in and to go out, that is to begyn all myne affayres well, and to brynge them to good effecte and purpose, that I maye learne to guyde and gouerne my people. When he had made his petition it pleased God wel that Salomon asked wisdome, and neyther ryches nor longe lyfe, and therefore God made hym thys answere. Bycause thou hast chosen wysedome aboue al thynges I wyl gyue ye it, and thou shalt be ye wyfist kyng that euer was before the, and so he was, and the wisest in al kynds of knowle[d]ge that euer was fyth; and thoughe he did not aske riches, yet god gaue him both ryches and honoure, more then euer anye of hys auncitours had.

So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, now praye. They must be yoked together, and thys is called pastime wyth good company. Nowe when God had geuen Salomon wysedome, he sente hym by and by occasion to occupy hys wyt. For God gaue neuer a gyft, but he sent occasion at one tyme or an other to shewe it to Gods glory. As if he sent riches, he sendeth pore men to be helped wyth it. But now must

men occupy theyr goodes other ways. They wil not loke on the poore, they muste helpe their children, and purchase them more land then euer their grandfather had before them. But I shall tell you what Christ sayd. He that loueth his child better then me is not worthye to be my disciple. I can not se how ye shal stande before God at the later daye, when thys sentence shall be layed agaynste you.

But to returne to my purpose, there were two pore women came before Salomon to complayne. They were two harlots, and dwelled togyther in one house, and it chaunced within. ii. dayes they chylde both. The one of these women bi chaunce in the nyght had kylled hyr child and rose priuely and went to the other woman, and toke hir lyue chylde away, and left hir dead chylde in hys place.

Vpon that they came boeth before Salomon to haue the matter iudged, whose the child was. And the one sayed, it is my chylde. Naye, sayeth the other, it is myne. So there was yea, and naye, betwene them, and they helde vp the matter wyth skoldinge after a womanly fashyon. At length Salomon repeted theyr tale as a good iudge, ought to do, and sayd to the one woman.

Thou sayst the child is thine, yea sayed she. And thou sayste it is thyne to the other. Well, fetch me a swerd sayed he. For there was no way now to trye whyche was the true mother, but by naturall inclination.

And so he sayed to one of hys seruantes. Fetche me a swerde and deuyde the chylde betwene them. When the mother of the chylde that accused the other hearde hym saye so. Naye for Goddes sake sayed she, let hyr haue the whole chylde, and kil it not. Naye quod the other, neyther thyne, nor myne, but let it be deuided.

Then sayed Salomon. Geue thys woman the chylde, thys is the mother of the chylde.

What came of thys? *Audiuit omnis Israel.* When

all Israell heard of thys iudgemente, they feared the kyng. It is wysedome and Godly knowle[d]ge that causeth a kyng to be feared. One word note here for Gods sake, and I wyll trouble you no lenger.

Woulde Salomon beynge so noble kynge heare. ii. poore women. They were pore, for as the scripture faith. They were togyther alone in a house, they hadde not so muche as one seruaunt betwene them boeth.

Woulde kynge Salomon I say heare them in his own person? Yea forsothe. And yet I heare of many matters before my Lorde Protectour, and my Lorde Chaunceloure that can not be hearde. I muste defyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thys matter, that your grace would heare poore mens futes yourselfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let them not be delayed. The saying is, nowe that mony is harde euery wher if he be ryche he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other are fayn to go home with weping teares for ani help they can obtain at ani Iudges hand. Heere mens suets your selfe I requyre you in godes behalfe and put it not to the hering of these veluet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarfe knowe them from an auncyent Knyght of the cuntrye.

I can not go to my boke for pore folkes come vnto me, desiryng me that I wyll speake yat that theyr matters maye be heard. I trouble my Lord of Canterburye, and beynge at hys house nowe and then I walke in the garden lokyng in my boke, as I canne do but little good at it. But some thyng I muste nedes do to satisfie thys place.

I am no soner in the garden and haue red a whyle, but by and by commeth there some or other knocking at the gate.

Anone cometh my man and sayth. Syr, there is one at the gate woulde speake wyth you. When I come there, then is it some or other that desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter might be heard,

and that he hathe layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing, but among all other, one especially moued me at thys tyme to speake.

Thys it is fyr. A gentylwoman came to me and tolde me, that a greate man kepeth certaine landes of hyrs from hir, and wilbe hyr tenaunte in the spite of hyr tethe. And that in a whole twelue moneth she coulde not gette but one daye for the hearynge of hyr matter, and the same daye when the matter shoulde be hearde, the greate manne broughte on hys fyde a greate syghte of Lawyers for hys counsaile, the gentylwoman had but one man of lawe : and the great man shakes hym so that he can not tell what to do, so that when the matter came to the poynte, the Iudge was a meane to the gentylwoman, that she wold let the great man haue a quietnes in hyr Lande. I beseeche youre grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

Heare them your selfe? Vieue your Iudges? And heare pore mens causes. And you proude Iudges herken what God sayeth in hys holye boke. *Audite illos, ita paruum ut magnum.** Heare theym sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man. Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.** The iudgemente is Goddes.

Marcke thys sayinge thou proude Iudge? The deuyl will brynge thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Iudges if they repent not and amende.

They are worffe then the wicked Iudge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God, nor the worlde. There was a certayne wyddowe that was a futer to a Iudge, and she met hym in euery corner of the streete, crynge. I pray you heare me, I beseech you heare me, I aske nothyng but ryght.

When the Iudge sawe hyr so importunate, though I fere neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet by cause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.

* Ye shall hear the small as well the face of man, for the judgment is as the great, ye shall not be afraid of God's.—Deut. i 17.

But our Iudges are worffe then thys Iudge was. For they wyll neyther heare men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, not importunate, nor any thyng else. Yea some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.

I hearde saye, that when a suter came to one of theym, he sayed. What fellowe is it that geueth these folke counsayl to be so importunate, he would be punyshed and commytted to ward.

Mary fye, punishe me then, it is euen I that gaue them counsayle, I woulde gladlye be punished in suche a cause. And if ye mend not, I wyll cause them to crye oute vpon you styll: euen as long as I lyue. I wyll do it in dede, but I haue troubled you long. As I began wyth thys sentence. *Quæcunque scripta sunt. etc.** So wyl I end now wyth thys texte. *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei et custodiunt illud.†* Blessed are they that heare the worde of God and kepeth it.

There was an other sute and I had almooste forgotten it.

There is a poore woman that lyeth in the Flete, and can not come by anye meanes that she can make, to hyr answere, and woulde fayne be baylled, offerynge to put in suerties worth a thousande pounce and yet she can not be hard. Me thinke this is a reasonable cause, it is great pitie yat such things shold so be. I besech God, that he wil graunte that all that is amysse may be amended yat we mai hear his word and kepe it, yat we mai hear his worde, and kepe it, yat we maye come to ye eternall blisse, to the which blyffe I besече God to bryng both you and me. Amen.

* Rom. xv 4.

† Blessed are they that hear the

word of God, and keep it.— Luke xi

28.

The thyrde

Sermon of Mayster Hugh

Latimer, whych he preached before
the Kynge wpythin hys graces
Palace at Westmister
the. xxii. Dage of
Marche.



*Quaecumque scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, are wrytten to be oure doctrine. Al thinges that be wrytten in Gods holye Boke the Byble, were wrytten to be oure doctrine longe before our tyme, to serue from tyme to time, and so forth

to the worldes ende.

Ye shall haue in Remembraunce, mooste benynge and gracyouse Audience, that a preacher hathe. ii. offices, and the one to be vsed orderly after an other.

The fyrste is *Exhortari per sanam doctrinam.*† To teach true doctrine He shall haue also occation oftentimes to vse an other, and that is. *Contradicentes convincere.*† To reprehende to conuynce, to confute gaynesayers and spurners against the truth.

Whye? you wyll saye, wyll anye bodye gayne saye true doctrine, and sound doctrine? Well, let a preacher be sure, yat hys doctrine be true, and it is not to be thought, that anye bodye wil gainsaye it. If. S. Paule had not forsene that ther shold be gaynesayers, he hadde not neade to haue appoynted the confutation of gaynesayinge.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† [A bishop]. . . that he may
be able by sound doctrine both to

exhort and to convince the gainsayers.

—Titus i. 9.

Was there euer yet preachers, but ther were gayn-faiars? that spurned? that winst? yat whympersed agaynst him? that blasphemed, that gaynesayed it?

When Moyse came to Egypt wyth founde doctrine, he had Pharao to gaynesay hym. Ieremy was the minister of the true word of God, he had gainfayers the priestes, and the false Prophets borne vp by Achab.

Ely[as] had all Bals priestes supported by Iesabel to speake agaynst hym.

Iohn Baptiste and our Sauoure Iesus Christe, had the Phariseis, the Scribes, and the priestes gaynfayers to theym. The Apostles, ye Apostles had gayne fayers also, for it was sayd to saynt Paule at Rome. *Notum est nobis quod ubique sectæ huic contradicitur.** We knowe that euery man doth gaynesaye thys lernyng. After the Apostles time the trueth was gaynesayed with tyrantes, as Nero, Maxentius, Domicianus, and suche lyke, and also by the doctrine of wicked heritikes.

In the popish masse time, ther was no gaynfaiynge, al thynges femed to be in peace, in a concorde, in a quiet agrement. So longe as we had in adoration, in admiration, the popyshe masse, we were then withoute gaynsaying. What was that?

The same yat Christe speaketh of. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium etc.†* When Sathan the deuyll hath the gudyng of the house, he kepeth all in peace yat is in his possessyon: whan Sathan ruleth, and bereth domynion in open Religyon, as he dyd with vs when we preched pardon matters, purgatory matters and pylgremage matters, al was quiet. He is ware inough, he is wily, and circumspect for stiryng vp any sedicion. When he kepeth his terrytory al is in peace.

Yf there were any manne that preached in England in times past, in the popes tymes, (as peraduenture ther was. ij. or. iij.) straight ways he was taken and naped in ye head wyth the title of an heretique. When

* For as concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against -- Acts xxviii. 22.

When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace -- Luke xi. 21.

he hath the religyon in possession he sturreth vpp no sedytion, I warrent yow.

Howe many discentions haue we hearde of in Turkye? But a fewe I warrant you He busyeth hym selfe there wyth no discention. For he hathe there dominion in the open Religion, and neadeth not to trouble hym selfe any further.

The Iewes lyke ronnagates where so euer they dwell (for they be disperst and be tributaries in all contries where they enhabyte) loke ye Heare ye anye heriseis amonge them? But when *fortis superuenerit** when one stronger then the Deuyl, cometh in place, whych is oure Sauoure Iesus Christe, and reueleth hys worde, then the Deuyl roareth, then he bestyrreth hym, then he rayseth diuersitie of opinions to flaunder Gods word. And if euer concord should haue bene in Religion, when shoulde it haue bene but when Christe was here? Ye fynde faulte wyth preachers, and saye, they cause sedition. We are noted to be rassy, and vndiscrete in our preachynge. Yet as discrete as Christe was ther was diuersitie, yea, what he was him self. For when he asked what men called hym. His Apostles answered him. Some saye, you are Iohan Baptiste, some saye you are Helias, and some saye, you are one of the prophets, and these were they yat spake beste of hym. For some sayed, he was a Samaritane, that he had a Deuyl wythin him, a gloser, a drincker, a pot-companion.

There was neuer Prophet to be compared to him, and yet was ther neuer more discention then when he was, and preached hym selfe.

If it were contraried then, wil ye thynke it shal not be contraryed now, when charitie is so colde and iniquitye so stronge. Thus these backbiters, and sclaunderers must be conuincd.

Sainte Paule sayed. There shall be intractabiles, that wil whympe and whine, ther shall be also *Vani*

* But when a stronger than he shall come unto him.—Luke xi. 22.

loqui, vayne speakers. For the whyche Saynte Paule appoynteth the preacher to stoppe theyr mouthes and it is a preachers office to be a mouthe stopper.

Thys daye I muste somewhat do in the seconde offyce, I muste be a gaynesayer, and I must stoppe theyr mouthes, conuynce, refell, and confute that, they speake sclaunderouslye of me.

There be some gaynesayers gaynesayers, for there be some sclaunderouse people, vaynesyeakers, and *intractabiles* whych I must nedes speake agaynst.

But fyrste I wyll make a shorte rehearsall to you in memorye of that, that I spake in my laste Sermon. And that done, I wyll confute one that slaundereth me. For one ther is yat I must nedes answere vnto, for he sclaundereth me for my preachynge before the kynges maiestye. There be some to blame, that when a preacher is wearye, yet they wyll haue hym speake all at once.

Ye must tary till ye here more. Ye must not be offended till ye here the rest. Heare al and then iudge al. What ye are verye hastie, very quicke with youre preachers? But before I enter further into thys matter I shal desire you to praye. etc.

Fyrst of all as touchynge my fyrst sermon, I wyll runne it ouer *cursorie*, rypppyng a lytle the matter. I brought in an hystorye of the Bible, ex-
The Epiloge, or rehearsal of the fyrste sermon. cytinge my audience to beware of bywalkynges, to walke ordnatelye, playnly, the kynges hygh way, and agre to that, which standeth wyth the ordre of a Realme.

I shewed you how we were vnder the blissyng of God, for our kinge is *Nobilis*, I shewed you we haue a noble Kynge. True inheritoure to the crowne with out doubte. I shewed furthermore of hys godly educacion. He hath suche schole Maysters as can not be gotten in all the Realme a gaine. Wherefore we maye

The Kynges Scholemasters are prayed. be suer yat God blessed thys Realme, althoughe he cursed ye realme, whose ruler is a chyld, vnder whom the officers be

climbynge and glenyng, sturyng, scrachyng, and scrapyng, and voluptuously set on banketyng and for the maynetenaunce of their voluptuousnes, go by walkes. And althoughe he be yong he hath as good, and as sage a counsayle, as euer was in England, which we maye wel know by their godly procedinges, and settinge fourthe of the worde of God: Therefore lette vs not be worfe, then the stiffe necked Iewes. In kinge Iosias tyme, (who beyng yonge dyd alter, chaunge and correcte wonderfully the religion) it was neuer hard in Ieurye that the people repyned or sayed, The kynge is a child. This geare wyl not last long. It is but one or two mens doinges. It wyl tarye but for a tyme. The kynge knoweth it not. Wo worth that euer such men were borne. Take hede lest for our rebellion God take hys blessinge a waye from vs. I entred into the place of the kynges pastyme. I tolde you howe he muste passe hys tyme in readyng the booke of God (for that is the kynges pastyme by gods appoyntemente) in the whyche booke he shal lerne to feare God.

The Counsayle of Englande haue theyr condyng and worthye prayse worthely

The people dyd not repyne agaynst kynge Iosias in hys minoritye.

What is a Prynce lyke pastyme.

Oh howe carefull God is to set in an order all thynges that belong to a kyng, in his chamber, in hys stable, in hys treasure house.

God is carefull for a kinges house and the order of the same.

These peuishe people in this Realme haue nothyng but the kynge, the kinge in theyr mouthes, when it maketh for theyr purpose. As ther was a doctor that preached, the kinges maiesty hath his holy water, he crepeth to the crosse, and then thei haue nothyng but the Kynge the king in their mouthes. These be my good people that muste haue their mouthes stoppe, but if a man tel them of the kynges procedynges, nowe they haue theyr shyftes, and theyr putofs fainge, we maye not go before a lawe, we maye

The kinge is in euery mannes mouth when it makes for theyr purpose.

Many shyftes and put offes,

breake no order. These be the wicked preachers, ther mouthes muste be flopte, these be the gaynesayers. Another thing ther is yat I told you of, *Ne elcuetur* a kynge must *cor regis. etc.** not be proude. The kynge must not be proude ouer hys brethren. He must order his people wyth brotherly loue and charitye. Here I broughte in examples of proude kynges. It is a greate pride in kinges and maiestrates when they wyl not heare, nor be conformable to the sound doctrine of god. It is an other kinde of pride in kynges, when they thynke them selues so high, so lofty, that they disdaine and thinke it not for their honour to heare poore mens causes them selues. They haue claubackes yat say Kinges haue clawe backes and docter pryke mote and his fellowe aboute them vnto them. What sir? what nede you to trouble your selfe? take you youre pleasure, hunte, Hauke, daunce, and dallie, let vs a lone: we wyll gouerne and order the commune weale matters well ynoughe. Clawbackes counsell. Wo worth them, they haue bene the roote of al myschife and destruccion in thys Realme. A kynge ought not only for to reade and study, but must pray as wel as rede also to praye. Let hym borowe example at Salomon, who pleased God hyghlye wyth hys petition, desyringe no worldly thinges, but Salomon prayed for wysedome wysedome, whych God did not onely graunt hym, but because he asked wysedome, he gaue hym manye mo thynges. As ryches, honoure, and such like. Oh, how it pleased God that he asked wisdome? And after he had geuen him this wisdome he sent hym also occasion to vse the same by a couple of strumpets. Here I told an example of a meke kynge, who so continued, vntyll, he came into the company of strange women. He hard them not by meanes, or by anye other, but in hys owne person, Salomon herd the causes and complaintes of and I thinke verely the natural mother had neuer had her own child if he had

That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.—Deut. xvil. 17
see text at p. 55.

not herd the cause hym selfe. They were ^{hys people} *Meritices*. Hoores althoughe some excuseth ye matter, and say they were but typplers, such as kepe alehouses. But it is but foly to excuse them, seyng ye Iewes were such, and not vnlyke, but thei had theyr stewes and the mayntenaunce of whordom as they had of other vyces. One thyng I must here desier you to reforme mylords. You haue put downe the Stues. But I praye you what is the ^{M Latimers request to the lordes for the abolishment of whoredome} matter a mended? what a vayleth that? ye haue but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom awaye. God should be honored euery where. For the scripture sayth *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.** The earth and the land is the Lordes. What place shuld be then within a Christian realme left, for to dishonour God. I must nedes shewe you such newes as I here. For thoughe I fe it not my selfe, notwithstandinge it commeth faster to me then I would wishe. I do as S. Paule doth to the Corinthians *Auditur in vos suprum.†* There is such a whoredome amonge you as is not amonge the gentiles. So lykewise. *Auditur*, I here say, yat ther is such whoredome in Englande as neuer was sene the like. He charged al the Corinthians for one mans offence sayinge. ^{Al the Corinthians charged for wo- [one?] mans synne} They were al gilty for one mans synne, if they would not correcte and redresse it, but winke at it. Lo, here may you fe how that one mans sinne poluted al Corinth. A litle leauen as S. Paule sayeth, corrupteth a greate deale of dowe. Thys is, *Communicare alienis Peccatis,‡* to be partaker of other mens synes I aduertise you in goddes name loke to it. I here say, ther is now more whoredom in London, then euer ther was on the bancke. These be the newes I haue to tell you. I feare they be true. ^{More whoredom in London then euer ther was on the bancke,}

* The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.—Psa. xxiv. 1. there is fornication among you.—1 Cor. v. 1.

† It is reported commonly that Neither be partaker of other men's sins.—1 Tim. v. 22.

Ye ought to here of it, and redresses it, I here of it, and as paul sayeth, *Aliqua ex parte credo*.*

There is more open whoredome more stuede whoredome then euer was before. For Gods sake let it be looked vpon. It is youre offyce to se vnto it. Now to my confutacion. Ther is a certaine man that shortly after my fyrst sermon, beyng asked if he had

Of one that reported. M. Latimer to be a sedicious fellowe.

bene at the sermon that day, answered, yea : I praye you said he how lyked you hym ? mary sayed he, euen as I lyked hym alwayes, a sedicious fellowe. Oh lord he

pinched me ther in dede, nay he had rather a ful bytte at me. Yet I comfort my self with that, that Christ hym selfe was noted to be a flurrer vp of the

Christ was notyd for a sedicious stirrer of the people.

people against the Emperoure, and was contented to be called sediciouse. It becommeth me to take it in good worthe, I am not better then he was. In the

kings daies that dead is, a meanye of vs were called together before hym to saye our myndes in certaine

How. M. Latimer was accused to oure late kynge of famous memorye Kynge Henry the eygthe and hys answer.

matters. In the end one kneleth me downe, and accuseth me of sedicion, that I had preached sediciouse doctrine. A heuye salutacion, and a harde poynt of fuche a mans doyng, as yf I shoulde name hym, ye woulde not thinke it. The king turned to me and sayed. What saye you to that

fyr ? Then I kneled downe, and turned me firste to myne accuser, and requyred hym.

Syr what fourme of preachinge woulde you appoynt me to preache before a Kynge ? Wold you haue me for to preache nothyng as concernyng a Kynge in the Kynges sermon ? Haue you any commyssion to apoynt me what I shal preache. Besydes this, I asked hym dyuers other questions, and he wold make no answeere to none of them all. He had nothinge to saye. Then I turned me to the Kynge, and submytted my selfe to hys Grace

* I partly believe it. — 1 Cor. xi. 18.

and sayed I neuer thought my selfe worthy, nor I neuer sued to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willynge if you mislike me, to geue place to mi betters. For I graunt ther be a great many more worthy of the rounge then I am. And if it be your graces pleasure so to allowe them for preachers, I could be content to bere their bokes after them. But if your grace allowe me for a preacher I woulde desyre your grace to geue me leaue to dyscharge my conscience. Geue me leaue to frame my doctryne accordyng to myne audience. I had byne a veri dolt to haue preached so, at the borders of your realme, as I preach before your grace. And I thanke almyghtye God, whych hath all wayes byne my remedy, that my sayinges were well accepted of the kynge, for lyke a gracious Lorde he turned it into a nother communication. It is euen as the scripture saieth. *Cor Regis in manu domini.** The Lorde dyrected the kynges hart. Certaine of my frendes came to me wyth teares in theyr eyes, and tolde me, they loked I should haue bene in the tower the same nyghte. Thus haue I euer more bene burdened wyth the worde of sedition. I haue offended God greuoulye, transgressyng hys lawe, and but for hys remedy and hys mercy, I woulde not loke to be saued. As for sedicion, for ought that I knowe, me thynkes, I shoulde not nede Christ, if I myght so saye. But if I be cleare in anye thyng, I am cleare in this. So farre as I knowe myne owne herte, there is no man further from sedicion then I, the whyche I haue declared in al my doynges, and yet it hath bene euer laied to me. Another tyme, when I gaue ouer mine office, I should haue receyued a certayne dutye that they cal a Pentecostal, it came to the summe of fyfye and fyue pound, I sent my commissarye to gather

His aunswer
to the kynge.

In preaching
we must haue
respect to the
place and to
the persons,

M. Latimer
was euer voi
de of sedicion
and yet styl
charged
and burde
ned therwith.

How. M. La
timer hys pen
tecostall
was de-

* The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord.—Prov. xxi. 2.

teyned and
vpon what
skyll.

it, but he coulde not be suffered. For it
was sayed a fedicion shoulde ryse vpon it.

Thus they burdened me euer wyth fedicion. So
thys gentilman commeth vp nowe wyth fedicion. And
wote ye what? I chaunced in my laste Sermon to

Of the newe
shyllinge

speake a merye worde of the new shilling,
to refrefhe my auditory, howe I was lyke

to put away my newe shyllinge for an old grote, I
was herein noted to speake fediciously. Yet I conforte
my selfe in one thyng, yat I am not alone, and that I
haue a fellowe. For it is, *Consolatio miserorum*. It
is the comforte of the wretched to haue company.
When I was in trouble, it was obiected an[d] sayed vnto

M. Latimer
noted of a
syngularyte.

me, yat I was singular, that no manne
thought as I thought, that I loued a syngu-
laryte in all that I dyd, and that I tooke

away, contrary to the kynge, and the whole parlia-
mente, and that I was trauayled wyth them, that had
better wyttes then I, that I was contrari to them al.
Marye fyr thys was a fore thunder bolte. I thought
it an yrkfome thinge to be alone, and to haue no
fellowe. I thoughte it was possyble it myghte not be
true that they tolde me. In the. vii. of Ihon the
Prestes sente oute certayne of the Iewes to bring
Christ vnto them vyolentlye. When they came into
the temple, and harde hym preache, they were so
moued wyth his preachynge, that they returned home
agayne, and sayed to them that sente them. *Nun-
quam sic locutus est homo ut hic homo.** There was
neuer man spake lyke this man. Then answered the
Pharises *Num et uos seducti estis?†* What ye brain-

A paraphra-
tical exposi-
tion.

fycke fooles, Ye hoddly peckes, Ye doddye
poules, ye huddles, do ye beleue hym?
are you seduced also? *Num quis ex Prin-*

cipibus credidit in eum.‡ Did ye se anye greate man,
or anye great offycer take hys part? doo ye se any
boddy follow hym, but beggerlye fyshers, and suche as

* Never man spake like this man.

John vii. 46.

Are ye also deceived?—Var. 47.

‡ Have any of the rulers or of the
Pharisees believed on him?—Var. 48.

haue nothyng to take to? *Num quis ex Phariseis?* Doo ye fe anye holy man? any perfect man? any learned man take hys parte? *Turba quæ ignorat legem execrabilis est.** Thys laye people is accursed, it is they that know not the lawe, that takes hys parte, and none elles.

Lo here the Pharises hadde nothyng to choke the people, wyth al, but ignoraunce. They dyd as our byshoppes of Englande, who vpbayded the people al wayes wyth ignoraunce, where they were the cause of it themselues. There were sayeth saint Iohn. *Multi ex principibus, qui crediderunt in eum.†* Many of the chiefe menne beleued in hym, and that was contrarye to the Pharisyfes sayinge. Oh then by lyke they belyed him, he was not alone.

The byshoppes called the people ignoraunt and they were the cause of it them selues.

So thoughte I, there be more of myne opinion then I, I thought I was not alone. I haue nowe gotten one felowe more, a companyon of sedition, and wot ye who is my felow? Esai the Prophete, I speake but of a lytle preaty shyllynge. But he speaketh to Hierusalem after an other sorte, and was so bold to meddle with theyr coine Thou proude, thou couetouse, thou hautye cytye of Hierusalem. *Argentum tuum uersum est in scoriam.‡* Thy syluer is turned into, what? into testyons? *Scoriam,‡* into droffe. Ah sediciouse wretche, what hadde he to do wyth the mynte? Why shoulde not he haue lefte that matter to some mayster of policy to reprove?

M Latimer hath gotten Esay the prophet to be his companion in sedicion.

Marke well thys terme.

Esay medled wyth the coyne of the mynt.

Thy Syluer is droffe, it is not fyne, it is counterfayte, thy syluer is turned, you haddest good syluer. What pertained that to Esay? Mary he espyed a pece of diuinity in that polici, he threatneth them goddes vengauce for it. He went to the rote of the matter, whych was couetousnes. He espyed two pointes in it, that eythere it came of couet-

Two causes whye money

* But this people who knoweth not the law are cursed — John vii. 49.
† Among the chief rulers also many believed on him. — John xii. 42.
‡ Thy silver is become dross. — Isa. i. 22.

in Esayes
tyme was
more baser
and worse.

ousnesse, whych became hym to reproue,
or els that it tended to the hurte of the
pore people, for the naughtines of the
fyluer, was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in
the Realme. He imputeth it to them as a greate
cryme. He may be called a mayster of fedicion in
dede. Was not thys a fedyciouse harlot to tell them
thys to theyr beardes? to theyr face.

Thys fediciouse man goeth also forthe, sayinge.
*Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua.** Thy wyne is myngeled
wyth water. Here he medeleth with vint-
teners, be like ther were bruers in those
dayes, as ther be now.

It had bene good for our missal priestes to haue
dwelled in that contrye, for they might haue bene sure
to haue hadde theyre wyne wel myngled
wyth water. I remembre howe scrupu-
louse I was in my tyme of blyndnesse and
ignorauncye, when I shuld saye masse, I
haue put in water twyfe or thryfe for sayl-
yng, in so muche when I haue bene at
my Memento, I haue had a grudge in my
conscyence, fearynge that I hadde not putte in Watter
ynoughe.

Esaye spoke
of one vyce
but he mente
yt of mo.

And that which is here spoken of wine,
he meaneth it of al actes in the cytye, of
al kindes of faculties, for they haue al
theyr medles and mynglynges. That he speaketh of
one thyng, he meaneth generally of al. I must tell
you more newes yet.

Cloth ma-
kers are be-
come Potica-
ryes, yea and
amonge the
Gospellers.

poticaries

I here saye, there is a certayne connyng
come vp in myxyng of wares.

Howe saye you, were it not wonder to
here that clothe makers should become

Yea and as I heare saye, in suche a place, where
as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of
God most earnestly of a longe tyme. Se how busie the

* Thy wine mixed with water.—Isa. l. ca.

Deuell is to sclaunder the word of god? Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a racke, and streach hym out wyth ropes, and racke hym tyll the fenewes shrinke a gayne, whyles he hath brought hym to xxvii. yardes. When they haue brought him to that perfection, they haue a prety feate to thicke him againe. He makes me a pouder for it, an[d] playes the poticary, thei cal it floke pouder they do so in incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider, truely a goodly inuention.

A pretti kind
of multiply-
inge.

Flocke pow-
der,

Oh that so goodly wittes shold be so yl applyed, they maye wel deceyue the people but they can not deceyue God. They were wont to make beddes of flockes and it was a good bed to, nowe they haue turned theyr flockes into a pouder to playe the false theaues with it. O wicked deuil what can he inuent to blasfeme Goddes worde? These myxturs come of couetousnes. Thei are playne theft. Woo worthe that these flockes should so slander the worde of God.

These mix-
tures and
multiplyn-
ges are theft.

As he saied to the Iewes, thy wyne is myngled wyth water, so myghte he haue sayed to vs of thys Lande. Thy clothe is myngeled wyth flockepouder. He goeth yet on. Thys fediciouse man reproueth thyshonorable cytye, and saied. *Principes tui infideles.** Thou land of Hierusalem, thy magystrates, thy Iudges are vnfaythfull, they kepe no touche, they wyll talke of many gaye thinges, they wil pretende this and that, but thei kepe no promise. Thei be worffe then vnfaythfull, he was not afrayed to call the offycers vnfaythful. *Et socii furum.** Felowes of theues, for theues and theues felowes, be all of one sorte They were wonte to saye. Aske my felowe yf I be a thyefe. He calleth prynces theues. Why, ar[e] prynces theues? What a fediciouse harlot

Easy was
sumwhat ho-
mely: when
he calleth the
magystrates
vnfaythful
and fellowes
of theues.

* Thy princes ~~are~~ rebellious, and companions of thieves — Isa. i. 23.

was thys? was he worthi to liue in a commune wealth that would cal prynces on yat wyse, felowes of theues? Had they a standynge at shooters hyll, or Stangat hole to take a pourse? Why? dyd they stande by the hyghe waye fyde Dyd they robbe? or breake open any mans house or dore? No no.

There are two kynde of theuynge, a grosse kynde of theuynge and a princely kynde of theuynge.

Brybery is a kynde of theauynge.

Brybes haue gotten a new name and vnder a colour are calyd gentyl rewardes, but that is not theyr chrysten name.

That is a grosse kind of theuynge. They were princes, they had a pryncely kynde of theuynge. *Omnes diligunt munera.**

They al loue brybes. Brybery is a pryncely kynde of theuing. Thei wil be waged by the rich, eyther to geue sentence agaynst the poore, or to put of the poore mannes causes. This is the noble theste of princes, and of magistrates. Thei are bribetakers. Nowe a dayes they call them gentle rewardes, let them leaue their colourynge, and cal them by their Christian name.

Brybes. *omnes diligunt munera.** Al, al all the prynces, all the Iudges, all the Prestes, all rulers are brybers. What?

were all the magistrates in Ierusalem, all brybe takers? none good? No doubtte there were some good, This word *omnes*, signifeth the mooste parte, and so there be some good I doubtte not of it in Englande.

We are worse then the styffe necked Iewes.

But yet we be farre worffe then those styf-necked Iewes. For we reade of none of them yat winfed, or kicked agaynst Esaies

preachinge, or sayd yat he was a feditioule fellowe. It behoueth the magistrates to be in credite, and therefore it might seme yat Esay was to blame to speake openli agaynst the Magistrates. It is very sure that

The good wyl not spurne nor kycke at the preacher.

they that be good wyl beare, and not spourne at the preachers, they that be faultye they muste amende, and neyther spourne, nor wyne, nor whyne. He that fyndeth hym selfe touched or galled, he declareth hym selfe not to be vpryghte.

So it faryth by a galled Horse.

* Every one loveth gifts.—Isa. i. 23.

Wo worth these giftes, they subuert iustyce euerye where. *Sequuntur retributiones.** They folow bribes. Some what was geuen to them before, and they muste nedes geue somewhat againe, for giffe gafe was a good fellow, this gyffe gaffe led them clene from iustice. Thei folow giftes.

Gyffe Gaffe
was a good
fellowe.

A good fellow on a tyme had an other of hys frendes to a breakefast, and sayed: Yf you wyl come you shalbe welcome, but I tel you afore hande, you shal haue but sclender fare, one dish and that is al, what is that sayed he? A puddynge, and nothyng els. Mary sayed he, you cannot please me better, of all meates that is for myne owne toth, you may draw me round about the town with a pudding. These brybyng magystrates, and iudges folow giftes faster, then the fellow woulde followe the puddynge.

A good fel-
low was bid-
den to a break-
fast to a pud-
dyng.

They follow
brybes as
fast as the fe-
low dyd the
puddynge.

I am contente to beare the title of sedicion wyth Esai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone I am in no singularytye. This same man that layed sedycyon thus to my charge, was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the sermon at Paules crosse, he aunswered that he was ther, and beyng asked what news ther. Mary quod he, wonderful newes, we were ther cleane absolued, my Mule and al had ful absolucion, ye may se by thys, that he was suche a one that rode on a mule and that he was a gentylman.

Of the stout
skorneful
gentil man
which sayed
that he and hys
Mule had
ful absolucion
at Paules
Crosse:

In dede hys Mule was wyser then he, for I dare saye, the Mule neuer sclaudered the Preacher. Oh what an vnhappy chaunce had thys Mule to carye suche an Assie vppon hys backe. I was there at the sermon my selfe, in the ende of hys sermon he gaue a generall absolucion, and as farre as I remember these, or suche other lyke were hys wordes, but at the leaste I am sure, thys was hys meanynge. As manye as do knowlege your selues to be synners, and confesse the same and standes not in de-

The preach-
ers wordes
in hys abso-
lucion.

* And followeth after rewards.—Isa. i. 23.

fence of it, and hartelye abhorreth it, and wil beleue in the death of christ, and be conformable therunto, *Ego absoluo uos*, quod he. Now sayeth thysgentylman, his mule was absolued. The preacher absolued but suche as were forye, and dyd repente. Be lyke then Mule.

she dyd repent her stumblynge, hys Mule was wyser then he a greate deale. I speake not of worldely wysedome, for therin he is to wyse, yea, he is so wyse, that wyse men maruayle, howe he came truly by the tenth part of that he hath. But in wis-

The mysreport of. M. Latimer is worldlye wyse but in godly matters as blind as a beatael.

dome which consisteth *In rebus dei, In rebus salutis*, in godlye matters and appar- taynyng to oure saluacion, in this wysdome he is a blynd as a beatel. They be. *Tantum equus et Mulus, in quibus non est intellectus*.* Like Horses and Mules, that

haue no vnderstandyng. If it were true that the Mule repented hyr of her stumbling I thynke she was better

A charitable whysshe of M. Latimer
How tender and deynety eared men of these dayes be, that had rather com- myt. xx. fautes then here tel of one.

absolued then he. I praye God stop his mouth, or els to open it to speke better, and more to hys glory. An other man quickned wyth a word I spoke (as he sayed opprobriouslye agaynste the nobility that theyr chyldren dyd not set fourth Gods worde, but were vnpreachyng prelates) was offended wyth me.

Poore mens sonnes for the most part haue euer traueled aboute the setting forth of Goddes worde.

I did not meane so, but that some noble mens chyldren had set forth Goddes worde, howe be it the poore mens sonnes haue done it alwayes for the mooste parte. Iohannes Alasco was here a greate learned man, and as they saye, a noble man in his contrye, and is gone hys way a gayne, if it be for lacke of intertaynement, the more

pytye. I woulde wyshe suche men as he to be in the realme, for the realme shoulde prospere in receyuyng of them. *Qui uos recipit, me recipit*.† Who

* As the horse, or as the mule, † He that receiveth you receiveth me. Matt. x. 40.
xxxii. 9.

receyueth you receiue me (sayed christ) and it shuld be for the kynges honour to receyue them and kepe them. I heard saye Mayster Melancton, that greate clarke, shoulde come hyther. I woulde wyshe hym, and fuche as he is, to haue CC. [two hundred] pound a yere. The king shold neuer wante it in hys coffers at the yeres ende. There is yet among vs. ii. great learned men Petrus Martyr, and Bernardine, whych haue a. C. [hundred] marckes a pece. I woulde the Kynge wold bestowe a thousand pound on that sort. Nowe I wil to my place againe. In the later ende of my sermon I exhorted iudges to heare the small as wel as the great. *Iuste quod iustum est iudicate.* You must not onelye do iustice, but do it iustlye, you muste obserue all the circumstances. You must geue iustice, and minister iust iudgemente in time.

Yt is honorable for the Kynge to be munifical and lyberall towards the learned.

Petrus martyr and Bernardine Ochline.

For the delayinge of matters of the poore folke, is as synfull before the face of god as wrong iudgemente. I reherfed here a parable of a wycked Iudge, whiche for importunities sake, herde the poore womans cause, et. cetera.* Here is a comfortable place, for al you that crye oute and are oppressed, for you haue not a wycked iudge, but a mercifull iudge to call vnto. I am not so ful of folyshetye, but I can consider well ynoughe, that some of you complayne with out a cause. They wepe, they wayle, they mourne I am sure some not wyth out a cause. I dyd not here reprove all iudges, and finde faulte wyth all. I thinke we haue some as painfull magistrates, as euer was in Englande, but I wyll not sweare they be all so, and they that be not of the best, muste be

The parable of the wicked Iudge.

Some as paynesful magistrates in Englande as euer was.

* There was in a city a iudge, which feared not God, neither regarded man:

And there was a widow in that city: and she came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary.

And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man

Yet because this woman troubleth me, I will avenge her, lest by her continual coming she weary me.

And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust Iudge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.—Luke xviii. 2-8.

A good leason for suche as are magistrates, but none of the best.

contente to be taught, and not disdayne to be reprehended. Dauid sayeth. *Erudimini qui iudicatis terram.** I refer it to youre conscience.

*Vos qui iudicatis terram.** Ye that be iudges on the earth, whether ye haue heard poore mens causes wyth expedicion or no, Yf ye haue not, then *erudimini*, be content to be touched, to be tolde.

You wydowes, you orphanes, you poore people, here is a comfortable place for you.

Though these Iudges of the world wyll not heare you, there is one wyl be content with your importunitie, he wyll remedye you, if you come after a ryghte sorte vnto him.

Ye say. The Iudge doth blame you for youre importunitie, it is yrckesome vnto him. He entered into this parable to teache you to be importune in your petition. *Non defatigari.* not to be wery.

How and by what meanes we shuld resort to God in aduersitye

Here he teacheth you, how to come to god in aduersitie, and by what meanes, whyche is by prayer. I do not speake of the meryte of Christ, For he sayeth. *Ego*

sum via.†

I am the way, *qui credit in me, habet vitam eternam‡* Who so beleueth in me hath cuerlastynge lyfe. But when we are come to Christ, what is our way to remedy aduersitie? in anguyshe, in tribulacions? in our necessites? in our iniuries? The waye is prayer.

We are taught by the commaundement of God. *Inuoca me in die tribulationis et ego eripiam te.§* Thou wyddowe, thou orphane, thou fatherles chylde, I speake to the that hast no frendes to healepe the,

The swete promysse of Christe:

call vpon me in the daye of thy trybulation, cal vpon me, *Ego eripiam te.§*

I wyll plucke the a waye, I wyl delyuer the, I wyl take the a waye, I wyll releue the, thou shalte haue thy hartes desyre. Here is the promyse,

* Be instructed, ye iudges of the earth.—Psa. ii. 10.

† I am the way.—John xiv. 6.

‡ He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.—John vi. 47.

§ Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.—Psa. l. 15.

here is the comfort. *Glorificabis me.** Thanke me, accepte me for the author of it, and thanke not thys creature or that for it. Here is the Iudge of al Iudges, come vnto hym, and he wyll heare you. For he saith, *quicquid petieritis patrem in nomine meo, etc.*† What so euer ye aske my father in my name, shall be geuen you thorough my merytes. You my rable people that are wronged in the world, aske of my father in your distresses, but put me a fore, looke you come not wyth bragges of youre owne merytes but come in my name, and by my meryte.

The order of
our prayer
and askynge.

He hath not the propertye of thys stout Iudge, he wyl beare your importunatenes, he wyll not be angrye at your cryng and calling. The prophet saith. *Sperauerunt in te Patres nostri, et exaudiuisti illos.*‡ Thou god thou god, our fathers dyd crye vpon the, and thou heardest them. Arte thou not oure God as well as theyres. Ther is nothinge more pleasaunte to God, then for to putte hym in remembraunce of hys goodnes shewed vnto our forefathers. It is a pleasaunte thyng to tell God of the benefytes that he hath done before oure tyme.

What God
woulde here
of vs and wher-
in he delytys.

Go to Moyfes, who hadde the gudyng of Goddes people, se howe he vsed prayer, as an instrumente to be delyuered out of aduersitye, when he hadde greate roughe mountaynes on euerye side of hym, and before hym the redde sea, Pharaos hoste behynde hym, peril of death round about him. What did he? dispayred he? no, Whyther went he? He repayred to god with this prayer, and sayed nothing. Yet with a great ardency of sp[i]rit he perced gods earres. Now helpe or neuer good lord, now helpe, but in thi hand quod he. Though he neuer moued his lypes, yet the scripture sayeth he cryed out and the lord heard hym, and sayd, *quid clamas ad me?*§ Why cryest thou oute so loude? the people

Moises used
prayer as an
instrument
in aduersitie.

* Thou shalt glorify me. — Psa. l. 15.

† Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.

— John xvi. 23.

‡ Our fathers trusted in thee: they

trusted, and thou didst deliver them.

— Psa. xxii. 4.

§ Wherefore criest thou unto me?

— Exod. xiv. 15.

heard him say nothyng, and yet God sayed. Why
 Exodi, xiiii criest thou out. Straight wayes he stroke
 the water with hys rodde, and it deuided, and stode
 vp lyke two walles on eyther syde, betwene the whyche
 goddes people passed, and the persecutours were
 Iosue was drowned. Iosue was in angwyshe, and
 in anguyshe lyke distresse at Iericho, that true captayne,
 and distresse and prayed, that fayethfull Iudge no follower of retri-
 butions, no brybe taker, he was no money manne,
 who made hys petition to almyghty God to shewe him
 the cause of hys wrath toward hym, when hys army
 was plagued after the takynge of Ierycho. So he ob-
 tained hys prayer, and learned, that for one mannes
 For Acans faulte al the reste were punyshed. For
 couetu- Achans couetuoufnes many a thousande
 ousnes, many were in agony, and feare of deathe, who
 a thousande punyshed. hyd his money, as he thought from God.
 Iosue. vii But God sawe it well ynough, and brought it to lyght.

Thys Achan was a bywalker. Wel, it came to
 passe, when Iosua knewe it, strayghtwayes he purged
 the army, and tooke a waye. *Malum de Israel*, that is
 wyckednes from the people. For Iosua called him
 before the people, and sayed. *Dagloriam deo*.^{*} Gyue
 Iosue put A- prayse to God, tell trothe man, and forth-
 chan to wyth he tolde it. And then he and all
 death. hys house suffered deathe.
 Iosue. vii.

A goodly ensample for al magistrates to followe.
 Here was the execution of a true Iudge he was no
 Paralo. xx. gyfte taker, he was no wynker, he was no
 bywalker. Also when the Assirians with an innumerable
 power of men in Iosaphates time ouerflowed the lande of
 Israel. Iosaphate that good king goeth me strayght to
 god, and made his praier *Non est in nostra fortitudine* said
 he, *huic populo resistere*,† it is not in our strength, O
 Lord, to resist this people, and after his praier God de-
 liuered hym, and at the same tyme. x.M. [ten thousand]
 were destroyed. So ye miserable people, you must go to
 God in anguyshe, and make your prayer to hym.

^{*} Give . . . glory to the Lord God great company that cometh against
 of Israel. - Josh. vii. 19. us.—2 Chron. 14. 12.

† We have no might against this

Arme your selues wyth prayer in your aduersities. Manye begyn to praye, and sodaynelye caste awaye prayer, the Deuyll putteth fuche phantasies in theyr heades, as thoughe God coulde not entend them, or had somewhat els to do.

Many begin to praye, but few perseuer and continue in prayer.

But you must be importune and not werye, nor caste awaye prayer. Naye you muste caste awaye synne. God wyll heare your prayer, albeit, you be synners, I send you a iudge yat wyll be glad to heare you. You that are oppressed, I speake to you. Christ in this parable doth painte the good wyl of god towarde you, o miserable people, he that is not receiued, let him not dyspayre nor thinke yat god hath forsaken him. For god tarieth tyl he seith a time, and better can do al thinges for vs, than we our selues can wish.

Caste awaye synne and then praye.

A notable lesson for him whiche prayeth.

There was a wycked Iudge etc. What meaneth it that God boroweth thys parable rather of a wycked Iudge, then of a good? Bylyke good iudges were rare at that tyme, and trowe ye the deuyll hath bene aslepe euer sence? no, no. He is as busy as euer he was. The commune maner of a wycked Iudge is, neyther to feare god nor man. He considereth what a man he is, and therefore he careth not for man bycause of hys pride.

The common maner of a wycked Iudge.

He loketh hye ouer the poore, he wyll be hadde in admiration, in adoration. He semeth to be in a protection. Well, shall he scape? Ho, ho, *est deus in celo*.* There is a God in heauen, he accepteth no persones, he wyll punishe them.

Ther was a pore woman came to thys iudge, and sayd. *vindeca me de aduersario*.† Se that myne aduersari do me no wronge. He would not heare her but droue her of. She had no money to wage eyther him eyther them that were a boutte hym. Dyd thys

* God is in heaven.—Eccles. v, 2.

† Avenge me of mine adversary.—Luke xviii. 3—see text at p. 91.

Whether
Christian
people maye
seke to be a-
uenged

woman wel to be auenged of her aduer-
farye? maye Christyan people teke venge-
aunce? The Lord saith. *mihi vindictam
et ego retribuam.** When ye reueng ye
take myne office vpon you.

Thys is to be vnderstande of priuate vengeance.
It is lawfull for goddes flocke to vse meanes to put
awaye wronges, to resorte to iudges, to requyre to
haue sentence geue of ryght. Saynte Paule sente to
Actes .xxii. Lifias the tribune to haue thys ordinary
remedy, and Christe also sayd. *Si male locutus sum
etc.†* If I haue spoken euyl rebuke me? christ here
Math xxvi. answered for him self. Note here my
Lordes and maisters what case poore wydowes and
orphanes be in.

I wyll tell you my Lordes Iudges, yf ye consider
thys matter well, ye shoulde be more a frayed of the
pore wyddowe, then of a noble manne wyth all the
frendes and power that he can make. But now a dayes
the Iudges be a fraied to heare a poore man agaynste
the rych, in so muche, they wyll eyther
pronounce agaynste hym, or so driue of the
poore mannes sute, that he shall not be
able to go thorowe wyth it. The greatest
man in a realme can not so hunte a Iudge as
the poore wyddow, suche a shrewede turne
she can do him. And with what armure I praye you.

The maner
of our Iud-
ges nowe a
dayes in hear-
ynge of the
pore: against
the ryche.

How god ten-
dreth and re-
gards the
cause of the
widow and
the poore.

She can bringe the Iudges skynne ouer
hys eares, and neuer lay handes vpon hym.

And how is that? *Lachrimæ miserorum
descendunt ad maxillas* the teares of the
poore fall downe vppon theyr checkes, *Et ascendunt ad
cælum*, and go vp to heauen, and cry for vengeance
before god, the iudge of wyddowes, the father of the
widowes and orphanes. Pore people be oppressed euen
by lawes. *Væ iis qui condunt leges iniquas.‡* wo worth to

* Vengeance is mine; I will repay, of the evil.—John xviii. 23.
saith the LORD.—Rom. xii. 19.

† If I have spoken evil, bear witness

‡ Woe unto them that decree un-
righteous decrees!—Isa. x. 1.

them that make euil lawes. If wo be to them yat make laws against ye poore, what shal be to them yat hynder and mare good laws? *quid facietis in die ultionis.** What wyl ye do in the daye of vengeaunce, when God wyl vifyt you? He sayeth, he wyl heare the teares of poore women when he goeth on visita-
cion. For theyr sakes he wyl hurte the Iudge, be he neuer so highe. *Deus transfert regna.* He wyll for wyddowes sakes chaunge Realmes, brynge theym into subiection. plucke ye Iudges skynnes ouer theyr heades.

Cambises was a greate Emperoure, suche Cambises. an other as oure mayster is, he had many Lorde deputies, Lord presidentes, and Leutenautes vnder hym. It is a greate whyle a go sythe I reade the hystory. It chaunced he hadde vnder hym in one of hys dominions a bryber, a gyft taker, a gratifier of rytche men, he folowed gyftes, as fast as he that folowed the puddynge, a hande maker in hys office, to make his sonne a great man, as the old sayinge is, Happye is the chylde, whose father goeth to the Deuyll.

And old soth say, but though the sayinge be none of the newist I feare me yet it is it one of the truest.

The crie of the poore widdow came to the Emperours eare, and caused him to flay the Iudge quicke, and laied his skinne in hys chayre of Iudgemente, that all Iudges, that shoulde gyue Iudgement afterwarde, shoulde fytt in the same skinne Surely it was a goodly fygne, a goodly monument, the fygne of the Iudges skynne, I praye God we maye once se the fygne of the skynne in Englande. Ye wyll saye peraduenture that thys is cruellye and vncharitablye spoken, no, no, I do it charitablye for a loue I bere to my contrye. God sayeth. *Ego uisitato.*† I wyll visite. God hath two visitations. The fyrste is, when he reueleth

The brybing Iudge was flayed quicke and hys skyn layed in hys chayre.

Amen. onels we pray god we may haue such incorruptible Iudges as wyll not desyre it.

God hath. ii. visitations

* What will ye do in the day of visitation?—Isa. x. 3. † I will visit.—Exod. xxxii. 34.

his word by preachers and where the fyrste is accepted, the seconde commeth not.

The seconde visitation is vengeance. He wente a visitatyon, when he broughte the iudges skynne ouer hys eares. If hys worde be dispised he commeth wyth hys seconde visitation with vengeance.

Noe. preached goddes worde an. C. [hundred] yeares, and was laughte to fckorne, and called an olde dotynge sole. Bycause they would not accepte thys fyrste visitation, God visited the second tyme he poured downe showeres of rayne tyll all the worlde was drowned.

Genesis xix.

Loth was a visitour of Sodome, and Gomorre, but because they regarded not hys preachynge, God visited theym the seconde tyme, and brente theym all vp wyth brymstone sauynge Loth. Moyse Exodi: vi. came fyrst a visitation into Egypte with goddes word, and because they would not here hym, God visited them agayne, and drowned theym in the redde sea, God lykewyse with his first visitation visited ye Israelits by his prophetes, but because they would not heare his Prophetes, he visited them the seconde tyme, and disperfed them in Assiria and Babylon.

Iohn Baptiste lykewyse and oure Sauoure Christe visited theym after warde declarynge to them Goddes wyll, and bycause they despised these visitours, he destroyed Hierusalem by Titus and Vespasianus.

Germany made a myngle mangle of theyr religion.

Germany was visited. xx. yeares wyth goddes word, but they dyd not earnestlye embrace it, and in lyfe folowe it, but made a myngle mangle and a hotchpotch of it.

I can not tell what, partely poperye, partelye true religion mingeled together. They say in my contrye, when they cal theyr hogges to the swyne troughe. Come to thy myngle mangle, come pyr, come pyr, euen so they made mingle mangle of it.

They coulede clatter and prate of the Gospell, but when all commeth to al, they ioyned poperye so wyth

it, that they marde all together, they scratched and scraped all the lyuynge of the churche, and vnder a couloure of relygion turned it to theyr owne proper gayne and lucre. God, feynge that they woulde not come vnto hys worde, now he visiteth them in the seconde tyme of hys visitacion with his wrathe. For the takynge awaye of Goddes word, is a manyfest token of hys wrath. We haue now a fyrst visitacyon in Englande, let vs beware of the seconde. We haue the mynystracyon of hys worde, we are yet well, but the house is not cleane swepte yet.

Couetousnes
cloked vnder
a couloure of
relygion a-
mongest the
Germaines
prouokyd
Goddes
wrath to-
ward them

God hath sente vs A noble Kynge in thys hys vyfytacion, let vs not prouoke hym agaynst vs, let vs be ware, lette vs not dyplease hym, let vs not be vnthankfull, and vnkynde, lette vs be ware of bywalkynge and contemnyng of Gods worde, let vs praye dylygently for our kynge, let vs receyue wyth all obedience and praier, the worde of God. A worde or twoo more and I commyte you to God. I wyll monyshe you of a thyng. I heare saye ye walke inordinatelye, ye talke vnsemelye other wayes then it becommeth Christian subiectes.

Godly aduer-
tisementes.

Ye take vpon you to Iudge the Iudgementes of Iudges, I wyll not make the kynge a Pope, for the Pope wyl haue al thynges that he doth, taken for an Article of oure fayth.

I wyl not saye but that the kynge, and hys counsell maye erre, the Parliamente houffes both the hyghe and lowe maye erre. I praye dayely that they maye not erre.

It becommeth vs what soeuer they decree to stande vnto it, and receyue it obedyentlye, as farre forthe as it is not manyfeste wycked, and dyrectlye agaynste the woorde of God, it pertayneth vnto vs to thynke the beste, though we can not tender a cause for the doyng of euery thyng.

Let vs learne
here our alle-
giance and
duty toward
the kynge
the lawe-
es and ordi-
nauuncys of
the Realme.

For *Charitas omnia credit, omnia sperat*.^{*} Charitye dothe beleue and trust al thinges. We ought to expounde to the beste al thynges, althoughe wee canne not yelde a reason.

Therefore I exhorte you good people pronounce in good parte al the facte and dedes of the magistrates and iudges. Charyte iudgeth the best of al men, and specyallye of magystrates. S. Paule sayeth. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus donec dominus aduenerit*.[†] Iudge not before the tyme of the lordes commynge. *Prauium cor hominis*.[‡] Mans hart is vnserchable, it is a ragged pece of worke, no man knoweth hys owne hart, and

Psalm .l. therefore Dauid praieth and saieth *Ab occultis meis munda me*.[§] Delyuer me from my vnknown faultes. I am a further offender then I can se. A man shalbe blynded in loue of him self, and not se so much in him selfe as in other men, let vs not therefore iudge iudges. We are comptable to god, and so be they. Let them alone, they haue theyr countes to make. Yf we haue charytie in vs we shal do this For *Charitas operatur*. Charitie worketh. What worketh it? marye *Omnia credere, omnia sperare*.^{*} to accept al thynges in good part. *Nolite iudicare ante tempus*.[†]

Iudge not before the Lordes commynge. In this we learne to know Antichrist, whych doth eleuate hym selfe in the churche, and iudgeth at his pleasure before ye time.

Hys canonizacions and iudging of men before the lordes iudgment, be a manyfest token of Antichrist. How can he know? Saynctes? He knoweth not hys owne hart, and he can not knowe then by myracles. For some myracle workers shall go to the deuyl. I wil tel you what I remembred yester nyghte in my bed. A meruaylous tale to perceyue, how inscrutable a mans herte is. I was once at Oxford, (for I hadde occayson to come that waye, when I was in my offyce,) they

^{*} [Charity] believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 7,

[†] Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come.—1 Cor. iv. 5.

[‡] The heart is deceitful above all things.—Jer. xvii. 9.

[§] Cleanse thou me from secret faulte.—Psa. xix. 12.

tolde me it was a gayner way, and a fayrer waye, and by that occasion I lay ther a nyght. Beyng ther, I hard of an execution that was done vppon one that suffered for treason. It was as (ye know) a dangerous worlde, for it myghte soone cost a man hys lyfe for awordes speakyng.

what he saw
and harde
once at
Oxforde.

I can not tel what the matter was, but the iudge set it so out that the man was condemned. The. xii. men came in, and sayed gyltye, and vpon that, he was iudged to be hanged, drawen, and quartred. When the rope was about hys necke, no man coulde perswade hym that he was in anye faute, and stode there a great whyle in the protestation of his innocency. They hanged hym and cut him down somewhat to soone afore he was cleane deade, then they drewe hym to the fyre, and he reuiued, and then he commyng to his remembraunce confessed his faute, and sayed he was gylty. O a wonderful example, it may well be sayed. *prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** A crabbed pece of worke and vnsercheable. I wyll leue here, for I thinke you know what I meane wel ynough.

I shal not neede to applye thys example any further. As I began euer with thys saying *quæcunque scripta sunt,†* like a trouant and so I haue a commune place to the ende, yf my memory fayle me, *Beati qui audiunt verbum dei, et custodiunt illud.‡* Blessed be they that here the word of god, and kepe it. It must be kepte in memory, in lyuyng, and in our conuersacion. An yf we so do, we shal come to the blessednes,

whych God prepared for
vs thorow his son-
ne Iesus Christ,
to ye which he
bring vs
all.

Amen.

* The heart is deceitful aboue
all things, and desperately wicked.
—Jer. xvii. 9.

† Rom. xv. 4
‡ Luke xi. 28.

A The fourth

Sermon of Mayster Hughe

Latimer, whych he prached before
the kynges Maiestye wuthin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
xxix. daye of
Marche.



*Vacumque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt ** All thinges yat are wrytten, are wrytten, to be our doctrine. The Parable that I toke to begin with (most honorable audience) is wrytten in the. xviii. chapter of S. Luke. and ther is a certayne remnant of it behind yet. The

Parable is this There was a certayne Iudge in a cytye, that feared neyther God nor man.

And in the same cytye there was a wyddowe that requyred Iustyce at hys handes, but he woulde not heare hyr, but putte hyr of and delayed the matter.

In proceffe the Iudge seynge hyr importunitye, sayed, thoughe I feare neyther God nor manne, yet for the importunitye of the womanne, I wyll heare hyr leaste she rayle vpon me, and molesle me wyth exclamations, and oute cryes I wyll heare hyr matter, I wyll make an ende of it.

Oure Sauyoure Christe added more vnto thys and sayed. *Audite quid iudex dicat. et. cetera.* Heare you sayed Christ, what the wycked Iudge sayed.

And shall not God reuenge hys electe, that crye vpon hym daye and nyghte? Al thoughe he tarye and dyfferre theym, I say vnto you, he wyll reuenge

them and that shortelye. But when the sonne of manne shall come, shall he fynd fayth in the earth.*

That I maye haue grace so to open the remnaunte of thys parable that it maye be to the glorye of God, and edifynge of youre soules, I shall desier you to praye. In the whyche prayer. etc.

I shewed you the laste daye, (mooste honourable Audiance) the cause why oure Sauoure Christe, rather vsed the example of a wycked Iudge then of a good.

And the cause was for that in those dayes ther was greate plentye of wycked Iudges, so that he myght borrowe an example amonge theym well ynoughe. For there was muche scarfitie of good Iudges. I did excuse the wyddowe also for commynge to the Iudge agaynst her aduersary, because she dyd it not of malyce, she dyd it not for appetite of vengeance.

Why Christ
vayd rather
the example
of a wycked
Iudge, then
of a good.

And I tolde you that it was good and lawfull, for honeste vertuose folke, for Gods people, to vse the lawes of the realme, as an ordinari helpe agai[n]st theyr aduersaryes, and oughte to take them as Gods holy ordinaunces, for the remedies of theyr iniuries and wronges, when they are distressed. So that they do it charitiablie loungelye, not of malyce, not vengeably, not couetouslye.

A brefe reher-
sal of thyngs
toched and
spoken of, in
hys thyrde
sermon.

I should haue tolde you here of a certayne secte of heritikes that speake agaynst thys order and doctryne, they wyll haue no magistrates nor Iudges on the earthe.

He meanyth
the Annabap-
tistes, for
thys is one
of theyr dete-
stable and
perniciouse
errores.

Here I haue to tell you, what I hearde of late by the relation of a credible person, and a worshypful man, of a towne in thys realme of Englande that hathe aboue. v. C. [five hundred] heritykes of thys erronious

* And the Lord said, Hear what the unjust Iudge saith.

And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them?

I tell you that he will avenge them speedily. Nevertheless when the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?— Luke xviij. 6—8,

Howe busye
the Deuyll is
to hynder
the worde
and slaun-
der the gos-
pel.

Gods worde

The deuyl is
busy sturring
is an euident
argument
that thys doc-
trine is true.

opinion in it as he sayed. Oh so busye the Deuyll is now to hynder the woorde commynge oute, and to sclaunder the Gospell. A sure argumente and an euident demonstration, that the lyght of

Gods worde is a brode, and that thys is a true doctryne that we are taught now, else he woulde not rore and styrre a boutte as he doeth whan he hathe the vpper hande. He wyl kepe hys possession quyetly as he dyd in the popyshe dayes, whan he bare a rule of supremacye in peaceable possession. If he reigned now in open relygyon, in open doctryne as he dyd than, he woulde not styrre vppe erronyouse opynyons, he woulde haue kepte vs wythout contencion, wythoute dysfencion. There is no suche dyuersytie of opynions amonge the Turkes, nor among ye Iewes. And why? For ther he raygneth peaceably in the hole relygion. Christ sayth. *Cum fortis armatus custodierit atrium. etc.** Whan the stronge armed man kepeth thys house, those thinges yat he hath in poss[ess]ion, are in a quietnes, he doeth enioye them peaceably. *Sed cum fortior eo superuenerit.** But whan a stronger than he commeth vpon hym, whan the light of goddes word is ones reueled, than he is busi, then he rores then he fyskes a brode, and styrreth vp erroneus opinions, to sclaunder godds word. And thys is an argumente that we haue the true doctryne. I bes[e]che God continewe vs and kepe vs in it. The dyuell declareth the same, and therefore he rores thus and goeth a bout to stir vp these wanton headdes and busye braynes. And wyll you knowe where thys towne is? I wyll not tell you dyrectlye. I wyll put you to muse a lyttle. I wyll vtter the matter by a cyrcumloquution. Wher is it? Wher the byshop of the dioces is an vnpreachynge prelate. Who is that? If there be but one

* When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace: But when a stronger than he shall come vpon him, and overcome him,

he taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.—Luke xi. 21, 22.

fuche in al England, it is easi to gesse. And if ther were no mo but one, yet it were to many by one. And yf there be moe, they haue the more to aunswere for, that they suffer in this realme an vnpreachynge prelacye vnrefourmed. I remember wel what S. Paule sayeth to a byshop. And thoughe he spake it to Timothe beyng a byshop, yet I may say it now to the magistrates, for al is one case, al is one matter. *Non communicabis peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt not : Timothe. v. be partaker of other mennes faultes. Laye not thy handes rashely vpon anye, be not to hasty in makynge of curates, in receyuyng menne to haue cure of Soules that are not worthye of the offyce, that eyther, canne not or wyl not, do theyr dutye. Do it not. Whye? *quia communicabis Peccatis alienis.** Thou shalt be partaker of other mennes sinnes. Nowe methynke it nedes not to be partaker of other mens sinnes we shal find inough of our owne. And what is *Communicare peccatis alienis.** To be partaker of other mennes euils, if this be not, to make vnpreachynge prelates, and to suffer them to continue stil in their vnpreachynge pr[e]lacye?

If the kynge and hys councel should suffer euil Iudges of this realme to take bribes, to defeate iustice and suffer the great, to ouer go the poore, and shoulde loke through his fingers, and wyne at it, should not the kinge be partaker of theyr naughtynes? And why? Is he not supreme head of the church? what? is ye supremacye a dygnitye and nothyng else? is it not a dygnitye wyth a charge? is it not comptable? I thynke it wylbe a chargeable dygnitye whan accompte shal be asked of it. Oh what a vauntage hath the Deuyll? what entrie hath the wolfe whan the shepard tendeth not hys flocke, and leades theym not to good pasture? Saynt Paule doth say *qui bene præsunt pres-* : Timothe. v.

Kynges and rulers muste wake and not wyne and leaue loking throw theyr fyngers.

A dignitie wyth a charge.

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins. — 1 Tim. v. 22.

*biteri duplici honore digni sunt.** What is thys *Præsse*. It is as much to say as to take charge and cure of soules we say *ille præst*, he is sette ouer the flocke. He hath taken charge vppon hym. And what is To rule wel *Bene Præsse?* To discharge ye cure. To what it is. rule well, to fede the flocke wyth pure foode, and good example of lyfe. Well then, *qui bene præsumt duplici honore digni sunt.**

What is do- Thei yat discharge their cure wel are
uble honour worthy duple honour? What is thys duple honour? The fyrst is reuerensed, to be had in estimation and reputacion with the people, and to be regarded as good pastours. A nother honoure is, to haue al thynges necessarye for their state, mynistred vnto theym. Thys is the double honour that they ought to haue. *Qui præsumt Bene*, that discharge the cure if they do it *Bene*.

The merye There was a merye moncke in Cam-
monke of bryge in the Colledge that I was in, and
Cambraye. it chaunced a greate companye of vs to be together, entendynge to make good cheare, and to be merye (as scholers wyll be mery when they are disposed). One of the company brought out thys sentence. *Nil melius quam latari et facere bene*. There is nothyng better then to be mery and to do well. A vengeance of that *Bene* (quod the Monke) I would that, *Bene* had bene banished beyonde the sea, and that *Bene* were out, it were well. For I coulde be mery, and I coulde do, but I loue not to do well, that *Bene* marres altogether. I would *bene* were out quod the mery monke for it importeth many thynges to lyue well, to dyscharge the cure. In dede it were better for them yf it were out. And it were as good to be out as to be ordered as it is. It wyll be a heuy *Bene* to some of them, when they shall come to theyr accompt. But para- uenture you wyll saye What and they preache not at all? Yet *præsumt*. Are they not worthy double

* Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour.—
1 Tim. v. 17.

honoure? is it not an honorable ordre they be in? naye a horrible misorder, it is a horror rather then an honoure, and horrible, rather then honourable, if the preacher be naughte, and do not hys dutye.

And thusgo these prelates aboute to wreaſtle for honoure that the Deuyll maye take hys pleaſuer in ſclaunderynge the realme, and that it maye be reported abroad that we breede, heriſyes amonge oure ſelues. It is to be thoughte that ſome of them woulde haue it ſo, to bring in poperye agayne.

Where the preacher doth not hys duty, ther the order is not honorable, but horryble.

The entente of vnpreaching prelates.

This I feare me is theyr entente, And it ſhalbe blowen abroad to oure holye father of Romes eares, and he ſhall ſende forth hys thonderboltes vpon theſe brutes, and al thys dothe come to paſſe thorow theyr vnpreachyng prelacye.

Are they not worthy double honore? Nay, rather double dyſhonore, not to be regarded, not to be eſtemed amonge the people, and to haue no liuyng at their handes? For as good preachers be worthy double honour: ſo vnpreaching prelates be worthy double diſhonore: They muſte be

An argument of congruens

at theyr doublets. But now theſe. ii. diſhonoures, what be they? Our ſauour chriſt doth ſhew. *Si ſal infatuatus fuerit ad nihil ultra valet, niſi vt*

Math. v.

*proiciatur foras** If the ſalte be vnſauerye it is good for nothinge, but to be caſt out and troden of men. By thys ſalte is vnderſtande preachers, and ſuch as haue cure of ſoules. What be they worthy then? wherefore ſerue they? For nothing elles but to be caſte oute. Make them quondammes, out with them, caſt them out of ther office, what ſhuld thei do with cure yat wil not loke to them? An other diſhonor is this. *Vt conculcentur ab hominibus.** To be troden under mens fete, not to be regarded, not to be eſtemed. They be at theyr doublets ſtyl. S. Paule in hys epiſtle qualifyeth a biſhop, and ſaith that he muſt be

* Ye are the ſalt of the earth: but if the ſalt haue loſt his ſauour, wherewith ſhall it be ſalted? it is thence forth good for nothing, but to be caſt out, and to be trodden under foot of men. - Matt. v. 13.

*Aptus ad docendum, ad refellendum apte.** To teache and to confute all maner of false doctrine. But what shall a man do wyth aptenes, if he do not vse it? It were as good for vs to be wyth out it. A byshop

A byshop angrie wyth M. Latimer and why because he wolde haue the kynge make of vnpreching prelates quondammes, dominus regnauit

came to me the laste daye, and was angry wyth me for a certayne Sermon that I made in thys place.† Hys chaplayne hadde complayned agaynste me because I had spoken agaynste vnpreachinge prelates.

Naye quod the byshoppe, he made so indifferente a Sermon the fyrst daye, that I thoughte he wolde marre all the seconde

daye.‡ He wyll haue euerye man a quondam as he is, As for my quondamshyp I thancke God that he gaue me ye grace to come by it by so honest a meanes as I dyd. I thanke hym for myne owne quondamshyppe, and as for them I wyll not haue theym made quondams yf they dyscharge theyr offyce. I wolde haue theym do theyr dutye. I wolde haue no more quondams as God healpe me. I owe theym no other malyce then thys, and that is none at al.

The bishops answer to his chaplayn.

remembred me that I had neither sayed masse, nor mattens.

A wyse answer of mayster byshop to hys chaplayne.

Preachers ar Gods instrumentes.

Thys byshop answered hys chaplayne, well (sayes he) well I dyd wysely to daie, for as I was goynge to hys Sermon, I remembred me that I had neither sayed masse, nor mattens. And homewarde I gate me as faste as I coulde, and I thanke god I haue sayed both, and let hys vnfruteful Sermon alone. Vnfruteful sayeth one, an other sayeth fedicious. Wel, vnfruitfull is the beste, and whether it be vnfruitfull or no, I can not tell, it lyeth not in me to make it fruitfull. And God worke not in your hertes: my preachynge can do you but lyttle good. I am Goddes instrument but for a time. It is he that must giue the encrease, and yet preachynge is necessarye.

For take a waye preachyng, and take a way saluacion. I tould you of *Scala celi* and I made it a preach-

* Apt to teach.—1 Tim. iii. 2.

† The second sermon: see p. 66.

ynge matter, not a massyng matter. Christ is the preacher of al preachers, the patrone and the exemplar, [t]hat all preachers oughte to folowe. For it was he by whome the father of heauen sayde: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, ipsum audite.** Thys is my wel-beloued sonne, heare hym, Euen he when he was here on the earth, as wysely, as learnedlye as circumspectly as he preached, yet hys fede fell in thre partes so that the fourthe parte onelye was fruiteful, and yf he had no better lucke that was preacher of all preachers, what shall we looke for? yet was ther no lacke in hym, but in the grounde: And so now ther is no fault in ye preachynge, the lacke is in the people that haue stony hertes and thorny hartes. I beseeche God to amend them. And as for these folke that speake against me, I neuer loke to haue theyr goode worde as longe as I lyue. Yet wyll I speak of their wickednes, as long as I shalbe permytted to speake As long as I lyue, I wyl be an enemy to it. No preachers can passe it ouer wyth sylence. It is the originall roote of all myschiese. As for me I owe them no other yll wyll, but I praye God amende theym, when it pleaseh him. Now to the parable. What dyd the wycked Iudge in the ende of the tale? The loue of god moued hym not, the lawe of god was this, and it is written in the fyrst of Deuteronomye. *Audite eos.†* Heare them. These two wordes wylbe heuye wordes to wycked iudges another daye. But some of them peraduenture wyl say. I wyl heare them, but I wil heare suche as wyl geue brybes, and these that wyl do me good tournes. Naye ye be hedged out of that lybertye. He sayth, *Ita paruum ut magnum.†* The smalle as well as the greate. Ye must do *iustum*, deale

Thoughe
Christe pre-
achyd, yet his
sede fell into
thre partes

He returneth
to the Para-
ble.

Deuterono-
mye. i.

* This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Matt. xvii. 5.

† Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall

not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's: and the cause is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it.—Deut. i. 17.


Iustelye? mynister iustice, and that to al men, and you
 Iustice muste
 be ministered
 without delays.
 muste do it *iuste*. In tyme conuenient,
 wythout any delays, or dryuyng of, wyth
 expedycion.

Well, I saye, neyther thys lawe, nor the woorde and
 commaundemente of God moued thys wycked Iudge,
 What moued the wic-
 ked iudge to
 heare the com-
 playnt of the
 wydowe.
 nor the myserye of thys wyddowe, nor the
 vpryghteousnes of hys cause, nor the
 wronge whyche she tooke, moued hym,
 but to auoyde importunitie, and clamoure,
 and exclamation, he gaue hyr the hearynge, he gaue
 hyr fynall sentence, and so she hadde hyr requeste.

Thys place of Iudgement it hathe bene euer vnper-
 All iudges
 haue not done
 dutye at all
 tymes.
 fecte, it was neuer sene that all Iudges
 dyd theyr dutye, that they woulde heare
 the small as well as the greate. I wyll not

proue thys by the wytnes of anye pryuate maicstrate,
 but by the wyseste Kynges sayinge that euer was.
vidi sub sole, saith Salomon *In loco iusticie, impietatem,*

The lacke of
 ministracion
 of Iustice
 what Salo-
 mon dyd se
 in his time in
 Iudges
*et in loco aqutatis iniquitatem.** I haue
 sene vnder the sunne, that is to say, ouer
 al, in euery place wher ryght iudgement
 shoulde haue bene, wickednes, as who
 should saye bribes takinge, defeatyng of
 iustice, oppressing of the pore Men sent away with
 wepyng teares, wythout anye hearinge of their causes,
 and in the place of equitie sayth he: I haue sene
 iniquity. No equity. No iustice a fore worde for
 Salomon to pronounce vniuersallye, generallye, and if
 Salomon sayd it, there is a matter in it.

 I wene he sayed it not onely for hys owne
 tyme, but he sawe it both in those that were before
 hym, and also that were to come after hym.

Nowe comes Esay and he affyrmeth ye same
 speaking of the iudgementes done in hys time in the
 commune place as it myghte be Westminster hall, the
 gyld hall, the Iudges hall, the pretory house.

* And moreover I saw under the
 sun the place of judgment, *that*
 wickedness was there; and the place

of righteousness, *that* iniquity was
 there.—Eccles. vii. 14.

Call it what you wyll. In ye open place. For iudges at that tyme (accordeynge to the maner) late in the gates of the cytye in the hie waye.

Judges sate
in the gates
of the cyty in
the hie way.

A goodly and Godly order for to fitte, so that the poore people maye easely come to them. But what sayeth Esay that sedi-
tiousse fellowe? He sayeth of hys countrey this. *Exspectavi ut faceret iudicium, et fecit iniquitatem.** I loked the iudges should do theyr dutye, and I saw them woorke iniquitie.

Thys was
done for the
ease of ye peo-
ple, for mate-
strates must
be indued with
affabilitie.

Ther was brybes walking, money makynge, makynge of handes (quod the Prophete) or rather almyghtye God by the Prophete, suche is theyre parcialitye, affection, and brybes. They be suche money makers, inhauncers, and promoters of them selues.

There was
bribes and bri-
bers as wel
then as nowe.

Esaye knewe thys by the cryynge of the people. *Ecce clamor populi.** sayeth he. And thoughe some amonge theym be vnreasonoble people (as manye be nowe adayes) yet no doubte of it some cryeth not wythoute a cause. And why? Theyr matters are not hearde, they are fayne to go home with weping teares, that fal downe by theyr chekes, and ascende vp to heauen and crye for vengeance. Let Iudges loke about them, for surelye God wyll reuenge hys elect one daye.

The teares of
the pore who-
se cause is not
accordinge to
equity and iu-
stice herd, cry
for vengeance
to God.

And surelye me thynke, yf a Iudge woulde followe but a worldelye reason, and wey the matter politikelye, wythoute these examples of scrypture, he should feare more the hurt that maye be done hym by a poore wyddowe, or a myserable man, then by the greatest Gentyll man of them al. God hath pulled the iudges skines ouer their heades, for the pore manns sake yea, the pore wyddowe maye do hym more hurt wyth hyr poore

An aduertise-
ment to our
Iudges.

* He looked for judgment, but be- hold oppression, for righteousness, but behold a cry.—Isa. v. 7.

pater noster in hyr mouth, then any other weapon, and wyth. ii. or thie wordes shall bryng hyr downe to the grounde, and destroye his iolitye, and cause hym to lose more in one day, then he gate in seuen yeres, for God wyll reuenge these miserable folkes, that can not helpe them selues. He sayth. *Ego in die uisitationis etc.** In the daye of uisitation I wyll reuenge theym? *An non ulciscetur anima mea?†* Shall not my soule be reuenged? As who shoulde saye.

I must nedes take theyr part. *Veniens veniam et non tardabo.‡*

Yes though I tary, and though I seme to linger neuer so longe yet I wyl come at lengthe, and that shortely.

And is god spake this, he wil perfourme his promise. He hath for theyr sakes as I tolde you, pulled the skynne ouer the iudges ears or thys.

Dauid was deceyued in putting trust in his iudges when he waxed olde him selfe.

Kynge Dauid trusted some in hys olde age, that dyd hym no very good seruice.

Nowe if in the people of God there were some folkes that fell to brybbyng, then what was ther amonge the Heathen?

Absalon was a bywalker.

Absalon Dauids sonne was a bywalker, and made a disturbaunce among the

people in his fathers tyme.

And thoughte he were a wycked man and a bywalker, yet some there were in that tyme that were good, and walked vpryghtlye.

I speake not thys agaynste the Iudges seate. I speake not as though all iudges were naught, and as though I dyd not holde wyth the Iudges, maiestrates, and offycers, as the Anabaptistes these faulse herytykes do. But I Iudge them honorable,

necessary, and Goddes ordinaunce. I speake it as scripture speaketh to giue a *Caueat* and a warnynge to all maiestrates, to cause theym to loke to theyr offyces, for the deuyll, the greate maiestrate, is

Iudges are honorable necessary, and Gods ordinaunces concerning theyr offices.

* Isa. x. 3.
Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?—Jer. v. 29.

† Though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry.—Hab. ii. 3.

‡ He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Hab. x. 27.

verye bufy nowe, he is euer doyng, he neuer ceafeth to go about to make them like hymfelfe. The prouerbe is. *Simile gaudet fimili*. Lyke woulde haue lyke: If the iudg be good and vpryght he wyll affaye to deceaue hym eyther by the fubtyll The craft of the deuyll. fuffegftion of crafty lawyers or els by falfe wytnesse, and fubtyl vtteryng of a wronge matter. He goeth about as much as he can to corrupt the men of lawe, to make them fal to brybery, to laye burdens on poore mennes backes, and to make them fal to periurye, and to bryng into the place of iudgement al corruption, iniquytie, and impietie. I haue fpoken thus much, to occafyon al Iudges and maieftates to loke to theyr offyces. They had nede to loke about them.

This geare moued faint Chryftome to fpeake thys fentence. *Mirror fi. aliquis rectorum potest faluari*. I maruaile (faied this doctoure) if anye of thefe rulers or great maieftates can be faued.

Lest the deuill be behynd them to make them peruerfe iustice

A notable and bolde faying of Chryftome.

He fpake it not for the impossibilitie of the thyng (God forbyd that all the maieftates and iudges shoulde be condempned) but for the difficultye.

Oh that a man myghte haue the contemplation of hell, that the deuyll woulde alowe a man to loke into hel, to fe the ftate of it, as he shewed al ye world when he tempted Chryft, in the wyldernes.

If the deuyll wold allowe a man to loke into hel what he should fe.

*Common strat illi omnia regna mundi.** He shewed him al the kyngedomes of the worlde, and all theyr iolitye, and tolde hym that he woulde gyue hym all, if he woulde knele downe and worfhypp hym. He lyed lyke a faulfe harlot, he could not gyue them he was not able to giue fo much as a gofe wyng: for they were none of hys to gyue.

Math. iiii.

The tother that he promysed them vnto: had more ryghte to them then he.

* Sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. —Matt. iv. 8.

But I saye if one were admitted to viewe hell thus, and beholde it thorowly, and the deuyll woulde saye.

Vnprechng
prelates are
wyth the de-
uyll in hell
God saue vs,
but they be
not there a-
lone, for bry-
bynge Iud-
ges are wyth
them for com-
panye.

He returneth
to hys former
matter.

On yonder syde are punished vnpreaching prelates, I thynke a man shoulde se as farre as a kenning and se nothyng but vnpreachynge Prelates.

He myghte loke as farre as Calyce I warrant you. And then if he would go on the other side, and shewe wher that brybynge iudges were, I thynke he shold se so many, that there were scant rume for any other. Our Lord amende it. Well to our matter. This Iudge I speake of, said. Though I feare neyther God, nor man, et.c. And did he thynke as he sayed? Dyd he thyncke thus? Is it ye maner of wicked Iudges to confesse, theyr faultes nay he thought not so.

And a man had come to hym, and called hym wycked, he woulde forth wyth haue commaunded hym to ward, he woulde haue defended hym selfe stoutly.

Whi the iud-
ge was forced
then to confesse
his faultes.

It was god that spake in hys conscience. God putteth hym to vtter suche thynges as he sawe in hys herte, and were hydde to hym selfe.

And there be lyke thynges in ye scripture, as. *Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est deus.** The vnwyse man sayd in his hert, there is no God, and yet if he shoulde haue bene asked the question, he would haue denied it.

Esay the prophet sayeth also. *mendutio protecti fumus.†* We are defended with lyes. We haue put our trust in lyes.

And in an other place he saieth. *Ambulabo in prauitate cordis mei ‡* I wyll walke in the wyckednes of my herte. He vttereth what lyeth in hys herte, not knowne to hym selfe, but to God.

Ezechiel de-
scribed the
herte of man.

It was not for noughte that Ezechiel describeth mannes hert in his colours.

* The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God.—Psal. xiv. 1.

† We haue made lyes our refuge.—Isa. xxviii. 15.

‡ Every one that walketh after the imaginations of his own heart.—Jer xxii. 27.

*prauum cor hominis et inscrutabile.** The herte of man is naught, a croked, and a froward pece of worke. Iere xvii. Among al thinges man hath.

Let euery man humble hym selfe, and acknowledge hys fault? and do as saynte Paule dyd.

When the people to whome he had preached, had sayed manye thynges in his commendation, yet he durst not iustify him selfe. Paule woulde not prayse hym selfe to hys owne iustification, and therfore when they hadde spoken these thynges by him I passe not all sayth he, what ye saye by me. I wyl not stande to your reporte, and yet he was not froward, that when he heard the trueth reported of hym, he woulde saye it to be false, but he sayed, I wyll neyther stande to your reporte, though it be good and iuste, neyther yet I wyl say that it is vntrue. He was. *Bonus Pastor.*

A good shepeheard. He was one of theym. *qui bene præsunt.*† that dyscharged hys cure, and yet he thoughte that there myghte be a further thyng in hym selfe then he sawe in him selfe.

And therefore he sayed. The Lorde shall Iudge me. I wyll stand onely to the Iudgemente of the Lord. For loke whom he iudges to be good, he is sure he is safe, he is cocke sure.

I spake of thys geare the laste day, and of some I had little thanke for my laboure. The truth gettes hatred. I smelled some folkes that were greaued with me for it, bicause I spak against temerarious iudgement? What hath he to do with iudgmente? say they. I went about to kepe you from arrogant iudgmente. Wel I could haue sayed more then I dyd, and I can saye muche more now.

For why? I knowe more of my Lorde admirals death sith that tyme, then I did knowe before. O saye they. The man dyed very boldly, he woulde not haue done so, hadde he not bene in a iuste quarell.

* The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.— Jer xvii 9.
† That rule well.— 1 Tim. v. 7.

The argu-
ment of such
men as thou-
ght the Lord
admirals cau-
se to be good,
because he to-
ke hys death
so bold his con-
futed.

The Anabap-
tistes howe
they toke their
death.

Thys is no good argument my frendes.
A man semeth not to feare death, therfore
hys can se his good. Thys is a deceauable
argumente. He went to hys death boldely,
ergo he standeth in a iust quarel.

The Anabaptistes that were brente here
in dyuers townes in England, as I heard
of credible menne (I sawe them not my
selfe) went to theyr death, euen *Intrepide*.
As ye wyll saye with out any feare in the
world chearfully. Well, let them go.

There was in the olde doctoures tymes an other
kinde of poysoned heretikes, that were
called Donatistes. And these heritikes
wente to their execution as though they
should haue gone to some iolye recreation or banket,
to some bealye chere, or to a play. And wyll ye
argue then? He goeth to hys death boldely, or
chearefullye, Ergo he dyeth in a iuste cause Naye that
sequell foloweth no more then thys.

A man semes to be a frayed of death, Ergo he dyeth
euyll. And yet oure Sauoure Chrifte was a frayed
of death him selfe.

Iudge not
them in autho-
rity rashly. etc.

Charite is the
cognisaunce &
badg of a chri-
sten man.

I warne you therefore, and charge you
not to iudge theym yat be in authoritie,
but to praye for them. It becometh vs
not to Iudge greate maiestrates, nor to condemne
theyr doinges, vnlesse theyr dedes be openly and
apparantlye wycked. Charitye requireth
the same, for charitye iudgeth no man, but
well of euery bodye. And thus we maye
trye whether wee haue charitye or no, and if we haue
not charitye wee are not Gods disciples, for they are
knownen by that badge He that is hys discipule, hath the
worcke of charity in hys breast.

It is a worthy sayinge of a clarke. *Charitas si est,
operatur, si non operatur, non est.* If there be charity it
worketh, *Omnia crede re, omnia sperare.** To beleue

* Believeth all things, hopeth all things.—1 Cor. xiii. 2.

all thinges, to hope al, to say ye best of the maiestrates, and not to stand to the defending of a wicked matter. I wil go farder with you now. If I should haue sayed al that I knewe, youre eares woulde haue yrked, to haue hearde it, and nowe God hathe brought more to lyghte. And as touchyng the kynde of hys death, whether he be saued or no, I referre that to God onely. What God can do, I can tell. I wyl not denye but that he maye in the twynkeling of an eye, saue a man, and turne hys herte. What he dyd I can not tell. And when a man hathe two strokes wyth an axe, whoo can tel that betwene two strokes he doth repente. It is very hard to iudge Well, I wyll not go so nye to worke, but thys I wyl say, if thei aske me what I thinke of hys deathe, that he dyed verye daungerously, yrkesomelye, horryblye.

M. L. said not all yat he knew concernynge the lord admiralles cause.

The man beyng in the tower wrote certayne papers whyche I sawe my selfe. Thei were two lyttle ones, one to my Ladye Maryes grace, and an other to my Ladye Elizabeth the grace, tendynge to thys ende, that they shoulde conspyre a gaynste my Lorde protectours grace.

The ii. lyttle papers which the Lorde admiral wrote in the tower.

Surely so feditiousli as could be. Nowe what a kind of death was thys, that when he was readye to laye his head vpon the blocke, he turnes me to the leutenantes seruante and sayeth.

Byd my seruante spede the thyng that he wottes of? Wel, the worde was ouer heard.

The wordes he spake to ye leuitenautes seruant

Hys seruante confessed these two Papers, and they were founde in a shooe of hys. They were sown betwene the soules of a veluet shooe. He made his ynke so craftely, and wyth such workmanship as the lyke hath not bene sene.

I was prisioner in the tower miselfe, and I coulde neuer inuente to make ynke so. It is a wonder to heare of hys subtilitie. He made hys pen of the aglet of a poynte that he plucked from hys hose, and thus wrote these letters

The penne of the aglet of a poynt


foo seditiously, as ye haue hearde, enforlynge manye matters agaynste my Lorde protectours grace, and so forth God had lefte hym to him selfe, he hadde cleane forsaken hym. What woulde he haue done if he had liued styll? that wente a bout this geare, when he layed hys head on the blocke at the ende of hys lyfe. Charitye (they saye) worketh but Godly, not after thys sorte. Well, he is gone, he knoweth hys fare by thys, he is eyther in ioye or in payne. There

There is but
two states.
The state of
saluacion and
the state of dam-
nation.

is but two states if we be once gone. There is no chaunge. Thys is the speach of the scripture. *ubicunque lignum ceciderit ibi erit, siue in austrum, siue in aquilone[m].**

Wherefoeuer the tree falleth, eyther into the southe, or into the north, there it shall rest.

By the fallynge of the tree, is signified the death of man. If he fall into the Southe, he shall be saued.

 For the Southe is hote, and betokeneth charitye or saluation. If he fall in the northe in the colde of infidelity, he shal be dampned. There are but two states, the state of saluation, and the state of damnation.

Ther is no repentaunce after thys lyfe, But if he dye in the state of dampnation, he shal rise in the same. Yea, thoughe he haue a whole Monkerye to synge for hym. He shall haue hys synall Sentence when he dyeth.

The seruauunt
which vttered
the secretes,
of the two let-
ters is commen-
did of M. L.

And that seruauunt of hys, that confessed and vttered thys gere was an honest manne. He dyd honestlye in it. God putte it in hys herte. And as for the tother whe-ther he be saued or no I leaue it to God.

But surelye, he was a wycked man, the realme was well rydde of hym.

It hathe a treasure, that he is gone. He knoweth hys fare by thys.

A terrible example fuerlye, and to be noted of euery man. Nowe before he shoulde dye, I heard say he

* If the tree fall toward the south, where the tree falleth, there it shall be.— Eccles. xi. 3.

had commendations to the kynge, and spake manye wordes of hys maiestye. All is the kynge, the Kynge. *Yea Bona verba.* These were fayre wordes the kynge, the kyng. I was trauailed in the tower my selfe (wyth the kynges commaundement, and the counsayle) and there was syr Roberte Cunstable, the Lorde Hussye, the Lord Darfy. And the Lorde Darfy, was tellynge me of the fayethfull seruice that he hadde done the kynges maiestye that dead is. And I had sene my Soueraygne Lorde in the fylde (sayd he) and I had sene hys grace come a gaynste vs. I woulde haue lyghted from my horffe, and taken my swerde by the poynt, and yelded it into hys graces handes. Mary quod I but in the meane season ye played not the parte of a fayethfull subiecte in holdynge wyth the people in a commotion, and a disturbaunce. It hath bene the cast of al traytours to pretend nothing agaynste the kynges person, they neuer pretende the matter to the kynge, but to other.

The lorde admiral had commendations to the kynge before hys death.

What the Lord Dore sayed to master Latimer in ye tower.

The commune cast of al traytours.

The offyce and duty of subiectes

A thing yat happened at Oxforde.

Subiectes maye not resyste anye magistrates, nor oughte to do nothyng contraye to the kynges lawes. And therefore these wordes, the kyng and so forth, are of smalle effecte. I hearde once a tale of a thinge yat was done at Oxforde. xx. yeres a go, and the lyke hath bene sence in thys realme as I was enformed of credible persons, and some of them that sawe it be alyue yet.

There was a prieste that was robbed of a greate some of money, and there were. ii. or. iii. attached for the same robbery and to be bryese were condemned and broughte to the place of execution. The fyrste manne, when he was vpon the ladder denied the matter vtterly, and toke his death vpon it that he neuer consented to the robbery of the prieste nor neuer knew of it. When he was deade, the seconde felowe commeth and maketh

A priest robbed of a greate summe of money.

his protestation and acknoweledged the faulte, sayinge, that among other greuouse offences that he had done he was accessary to thys robberye and sayeth he, I hadde my parte of it, I crye God mercy so hadde thys felow that dyed before me hys parte. Now who can iudge whether thys felow dyed wel or no? Who can iudge

a mans herte? The one denyed the matter, and the tother confessed it, there is no Iudgyng of suche matters. I haue hearde muche wyckednes of thys manne, and I haue thought oft, Iesu, what wyl worth, what wyl be the ende of thys man?

When I was wyth the byshop of Chechester in warde (I was not so wyth hym, but my frendes might come to me, and talke wyth me) I was desirous to heare of execution done (as ther was eueri weke, some in one place of the citey or other) for there was thre wekes sessions at newgate, and fourthnyghte Sessions at the Marshialshy, and so forth.

I was desirous I saie to heare of execution, bycause I loked that my part shoulde haue bene in, I loked euery daye to be called to it my selfe.

Amonge all other I heard of a wanton woman, a naughtye lyuer, a whore, a vayne bodye, yat was ledde from newgate to the place of execution, for a certaine robberye that she had committed, and she hadde a wycked communication by the waye. Here I wil take occasion to moue your grace that suche menne as shall be put to death maye haue learned menne to gyue them instruction, and exhortation.

M. Latimer exhorteth the kynges grace that learned men might be appoynted to such as shall suffer and are conuict persons.

For the reuerence of God when they be put to execution, let them haue instructions, for manye of them are cast away for lacke of instruction, and dye miserably for lacke of good preaching.

This woman I say as she wente by the waye, had

wanton and folyſhe talke, as thys, that if good felowes hadde kept touch wyth hyr, ſhe hadde not bene at thys tyme in that caſe, and amongeſte al other talke, ſhe ſaied, that ſuche a one, and named this manne, hadde hyr maidenheade fyrſte, and herynge thys of hym at that tyme, I loked euer what woulde be hys ende, what woulde be come of hym.

The whores words as ſhe went to execution

He was a manne the fardeſt frome the feare of God that euer I knewe or heard of in Englande. Fyrſte, he was author of all thys womannes whore-dome. For if he had not had hyr maydenhead, ſhe myghte haue bene married, and become an honeſte womanne, wher as nowe beyng nought wyth hym, ſhee fell afterwarde by that occaſion to other. And they that were nought wyth her, fel to robbery and ſhe folowed, and thus was he author of all thys.

This geare came bi Sequels. Peraduenture thys maye ſeme to be a lyghte matter, but ſurelye it is a greate matter, and he by vnrepentaunce fell frome euyll to worſe, and frome worſe, to worſte of all, til at the length he was made a ſpectacle to all the worlde. I haue hearde ſaye, he was of the opinion that he beleued not the immortalytye of the ſoule that he was not ryght in yat matter. And it mighte well appeare by the takynge of hys death. But ye wyll ſaye. What ye ſclaunder him, ye breake charitye.

Nay it is charitye that I do. We canne haue no better uſe of hym nowe, then to warne other to beware by hym.

Chriſt ſaith *Memores eſtote uxoris Loth.** Remembre Lothes wiſe? She was a woman that wold not be content with hir good ſtate, but wreſteled wyth Gods callynge, and ſhee was for that cauſe turned into a ſalte ſtone, and therefore the ſcripture doeth name hir as an example for vs to take hede by. Ye ſhall ſe alſo in the ſecond Epiſtle of ſaint Peter the ſeconde

Lotens wyſe in our example to content our ſelues with our ſtate.

* Remember Lot's wiſe.—Luke xviij. 32.

Chapter, howe that God almyghtye spared not a
 God spared
 not hys aun-
 gellis
 The whole
 worlde was
 drowned, So-
 dome and Go-
 mor was bur-
 nte and all for
 our example.
 Gene xviii.
 numbre of hys Aungels, whiche had synned
 againste hym to make them examples to
 vs to beware by. He drowned the whole
 world in the time of Noe and destroyed
 for synne the cities of Sodome and Go-
 morhe and why? *Fecit eos exemplum iis
 qui impii forent acturi.** He made them
 an example to them that would do
 wyckedlye in tyme to come. If God would not spare
 them, thynke ye he wyll fauour vs? Thus maye
 thys man be an example to vs. Let vs al subiectes
 iudge wel of our magistrates, in suche
 matters and be contente wyth theyr
 doynge, and loke not to be of the coun-
 faile.

An exhortation
 to al subiects
 not to mur-
 mur, misjudg
 nor repyne a-
 gaynste the
 kinges proce-
 dynges

And thus toke I occasion to speake of
 him, and to profyt you therbi, and I besech
 you so to take it. He may be a good warnynge to
 vs, and this is the best vse that we can haue of him
 now.

I wil go on a word or two, in the applicacion of the
 parable, and then I wyll make an ende. To what
 ende, and to what purpose broughte Chryste thys
 parable of the wycked iudge.

To what end
 ye parable of
 the wycked
 iudge tendeth.

The ende is, that we shoulde be con-
 tinually in prayer. Prayer is neuer inter-
 rupte but by wickednes. We must ther-
 fore walk orderly, vpryghtly, callyng vpon God in
 all oure troubles, and aduersityties, and for thys pur-
 pose there is not a more comfortable lesson in all the
 scripture, then here now in the lappyng vp of the mat-
 ter. Therefore I wyll open it vnto you. You mise-
 rable people, if there be any here amongst you, that
 are oppressed with greate men and can get no healpe,
 To whom in I speake for youre comfort, I wil open

* And turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorraha into ashes condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly. — 2 Pet. ii. 6.

vnto you, whyther ye shall resort, when ye be in any distres. Hys good wyll is redy alwayes at hande, when so euer we shal cal for it. And therefore he callis vs to hym selfe. We shall not doubt if we come to him. Marke what he sayth to cause vs beleue that oure priers shalbe hearde. *Et deus non faciet vindictam.** He reasons after thys fashyon. Wyl not GOD, sayeth he, reuenge hys electe? and heare thein? seyng the wycked iudge heard the wydowe? He semeth to go plainely to worcke, he willeth vs to praye to God, and to none but to God. We haue a maner of reasonyng in the scholes, and it is called *A minore ad maius*. From the lesse to the more, and that maye be vsed here. The iudge was a tirante, a wicked man, God is a patrone, a defender, a father vnto vs. If the iudge then, beyng a tyrante, woulde here the poore wyddowe, muche more God wyll here vs in all distresses. He beyng a father vnto vs, he wyll heare vs soner, then the other beyng no father, hauyng no fatherly affection. Moreouer, God is naturallie merciful.

dystresse & oppressyon we shall resort.

An argument from the lesse to the more.

The iudge was cruel, and yet he healped the wydowe, muche more then God wyl help vs at oure nede. He sayeth by the oppressed. *Cum ipso sum in tribulatione.†* I am with hym in hys trouble. Hys tribulacion is myne.

I am touched wyth hys trouble. If the Iudge then beyng a cruell man hearde the wyddowe, muche more GOD wyll healpe vs, being touched wyth oure affection. Furthermore, thys iudge gaue the wydowe, no commaundemente to come to him, we haue a commaundement to resort to GOD for he saieth: *Inuoca me in die tribulationis: ‡* call vpon me in the daye of thy tribulacion, whych is as well a commaundemente, as *Non furaberis.§* Thou shalt not steale.

We haue a commaundement to resort to god.

* And shall not God avenge his own elect?—See text at p. 103.

† I will be with him in trouble.—*Psa. xci. 15.*

‡ Call upon me in the day of trouble.—*1^a Isa. l. 15.*

§ Thou shalt not steal.—*Ex. xx. 15.*

He that spake the one, spake the other : And whatsoever he be that is in trouble, and calleth not vpon God, breaketh hys commaundemente. Take hede therefore. The iudge dyd not promise the wydowe helpe, God promised vs help, and wyl he not perfourme it? He wyl, he wyl. The Iudge (I say) did not promyse the wyddowe healpe. God wil geue vs both hearing and helpynge. He hath promysed it vs wyth a dubble othe. *Amen, amen*, sayth he, verely, verely, he doubles it.

*Quaecumque petieritis etc.** whatsoever ye shall axe in my name, ye shal haue it. And thoughte he put of some synner for a tyme, and suffer hym to byte on the brydell, to proue hym (for there be many begynners, but fewe continewars in prayer) yet we maye not thyncke that he hath forgotten vs, and wyl not healpe vs. *Veniens veniet, et non tardabit.†* When the healpe is mooste nedefull, then he wyl come and not tarye. He knoweth when it shalbe best for vs to haue healpe, though he tary he wyl come at the last. I wyl trouble you but halfe a quarter of an hour, in the application of the parable, and so commyt you to God.

What should it meane that god would haue vs so why GOD diligent and earnest in prayer? Hath he wold haue vs such pleasure in our worckes? Many to be diligent talke of prayer, and make it a lyplabourynge. and earnest in prayer. Praying is not babling, nor praying is not monkerye.

It is to miserable folke that are oppressed a comforte, solace, and a remedy.

But what maketh our prayer to be acceptable to God? It lyeth not in our power. We must haue it by an other meane.

Remembre what God sayed of his sonne: *Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.‡* This is my dear son in why our prayer is acceptable to God.

* Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do.—John xiv. 13.

† He that shall come will come, and will not tarry.—Heb. x. 37.

‡ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him.—Matt. xvii. 5.

whom I delyte. He hath pleasure in nothyng, but in hym.

How cometh it to passe then, that oure prayer pleaseth God. Oure prayer pleaseth God, because Christ pleaseth God.

When we praye, we come vnto hym, in the confidence of Chrystes merytes, and thus offerynge vp oure prayers, they shalbe heard for Chrystes sake. Yea, Chryste wyl offer them vp for vs, that offered vp once hys Sacryfice to God, whych was acceptable, and he that commeth wyth anye other meane then thys, god knoweth hym not.

This is not the missal Sacrifice, the popishe sacryfice to stand at the aultare, and offer vp Chryst agayne. Oute vpon it, that euer it was vsed.

M. L. cryeth
out vpon the
popyshe masse.

I wyl not say naye, but that ye shall fynde in the olde doctores thys word *Sacrificium*, but there is one generall solution for all the doctours that S. Auguſtine sheweth vs.

The solution
of S. Auguſtine
vpon the
word sacrifici-
ce.

The sygne of a thyng hath often times the name of ye thing that it signifieth. As the supper of the Lorde is the Sacrament of an other thyng, it is a commemoration of his death whych suffered once for vs, and because it is a sygne of Chrystes offering vp, therefore it beares the name therof. And thys Sacrifice a woman can offer as well as a man. Yea, a poore woman in the belfre: hath as good authoritie to offer vp thys sacryfice, as hath the byshop in his *pontificalibus*, with his myter on his head, hys ringes on his fyngers, and Sandales on hys fete. And whosoever commeth asking the father remedy in hys necessity for Chrystes sake, he offereth vp as acceptable a sacryfice as any byshop can do. And so to make an ende.

Thys must be done wyth a constaunte fayeth, and a sure confidence in Christe. Fayeth, Fayeth is all fayeth, fayth. We are vndone for lacke together. of fayeth. Chryste nameth fayth here, Fayeth is al-

together. When the sonne of man shall come, shall he fynde fayth on the earthe? Why speaketh he so muche of faythe? because it is harde to fynde a true faythe. He speaketh not of a politicall fayth, a faythe set vp for a tyme, but a constant, a permanent, a durable faythe, as durable as goddes word. He came many tymes. Fyrste in the tyme of Noe, when he preached, but he founde lytle fayth. He came also when Loth preached, when he destroyed Sodome and Gomorhe.

But he founde no fayth, and to be shorte he shall come at the latter daye, but he shall fynde a lytle fayth. And I wene the daye be not farre of, and when he was here carnallye dyd, he fynde anye faythe? Manye speake of faythe, but fewe ther be that hath it.

Chryste mourneth the lacke of it. He complayneth that when he came, he founde no fayth.

Thys fayth is a great state, a Ladye, a great state & a Dutches, a greate womanne, and she hath euer a great companye and trayne about her (as a noble state ought to haue) fyrste she hath a Gentilman vssher that goth before her, and where he is not, there is not Lady fayth.

This Gentilman vssher is called *Agnitio peccatorum*, knoweledge of syn, when we enter into our hert, and acknowledge our faultes, and stand not about to defend them. He is none of these wynkers, he kyckes not when he heares hys fault. Nowe as the Gentilman vssher goth before her, so she hath a trayne that cometh behynde her, and yet thoughe they come behynde, they be all of faythes companye, they are all wyth her, as Chryste when he counterfayted a state goyng to Hierusalem, some wente before him, and some after, yet all were of his company, so al these wayte vpon fayeth. She hath a greate trayne after her besydes hyr Gentylman vssher, her whole household, and those be the workes of our vocation,

Knowledge of synne is gentle man vssher to Lady fayth.

Fayth hath a trayne after her & they are the workes of our vocation

when euerye man confydereth what vocation he is in, what callyng he is in, and doeth the worckes of the fame, as to be good to hys neighbour, to obey God etc.

This is the trayne that foloweth Lady Fayeth, as for an exemple. An vnfaythful Iudge hath fyrste an heauye rekenyge of his faulte, repentyng him self of his wickednes, and then forsaketh his iniquytie, hys impeietie, feareth no man, walkes vpryght, and he that doeth not thus, hath not Ladye fayth, but rather a boldnes of synne, and abusinge of Christes passion.

Ladye faieth is neuer withoute hyr Gentylman vwhere, nor wyth out hyr trayne, shee is no Anckres, she dwells not alone, shee is neuer a pryuate woman, she is neuer alone, and yet many therbe that boost them selues that they haue fayth, and that when Christe shall come they shall do well ino[u]gh. Nay naye, these that be fayethfull shal be so fewe, that Christ shal skarce se them. Manye there be that runnes fayeth Saynte Paule, but there is but one that receyueth the rewarde, it shall be wyth the multytude when he shall come, as it was in the tyme of Noe, and as it was in the tyme of Loth.

Fayth is no ankres she hath many a attendant vpon hyr parson.

In the tyme of Noe, they were eatynge and drynkyng, buyldynge plantynge, and fodaynely the water came vpon them, and drowned them :

The sodeyn comynge of ye Lord in the tyme of Noe and Loth.

In the tyme of Lothe also, they weare eatynge and drynkyng. etc. And sodenlye the fyre came vpon them, and deuoured them. And now we are eatynge and drynkyng. There was neuer suche buyldynge then, as is now, plantynge, nor maryinge. And thus it shall be euen when Christe shall come, at the Iudgemente.

Is eatynge and drynkyng and marying, reproued in scripture? Is it not? Naye he reproued not al kynd of eatynge and drynkyng, he muste be oher wayes vnderstand.

If the scripature be not trulye expounded what is

more erroneous? And though there be complay[n]inges of some eatynge or drynkyng in the scripture yet he speaketh not as though all were nought.

what eatynge
and drinking is
allowed and
what is dyscom-
mended.

They maye be wel ordered, they are Goddes allowaunce, but to eate and drynke as they dyd in Noes tyme, and as they dyd in Lothes tyme. Thys eatynge

and drynkyng, and maryinge is spoken agaynste. To eate and drinke in the forgetfulnes of goddes commaundement, voluptuously, in excesse and glotonnie, this kinde of eatynge and drynkyng is nought, when it is not done moderatly, soberly, and

What kinde
of mariage is
reproved wor-
thely.

with al circumspection. And lykewyse to marrye for fleshelye luste, and for ther owne fantasie. Ther was neuer suche

marrynge in Englande, as is nowe I here tell of stealyng of wardes to marye thy chyl dren to. This is a straunge kinde of stealyng but it is not the wardes, it is the landes

Stealyng of
wardes, nay
rather of lan-
des.

that they steale. And some ther be that knyght vp mariages to gether not for any loue or Godlines in

Another kin-
de of mariage
and all naught.

the parties, but to get frensheppe, and make them stronge in the realme, to encrease their possessions and to ioyne lande to lande. And other there be that enuegle mennes daughters, in the contempte of theyr fathers, and go aboute to marrye them wythoute theyr consente. Thys marrynge

The inueg-
lers of mens
doughters
ar[e] notyd.

is vngodlye, and manye parentes constrainne theyre

The parentes
whych forse
theyr chyl dren
to marri whom
they loue not
are worthelye
reprehendyd.

sonnes and daughters to marrye where they loue not, and some are beaten and compulsed. And they that marye thus, marrye in a forgetfulnes and obliuiousnes of goddes commaundementes. But as in

A daye wyll
come shall
paye for all.

the tyme of Noe, sodenlye a clappe fell in theyr bosomes, so shall it be wyth vs at the latter daye when Christe shall come. We haue as lytle consyence as maye be, and when he shal come, he shal lacke Lady

I feare it be
to lytle wyth
some men, that

Fayeth, wel is them that shalbe of that
lytle flocke, that shall be set on the righte
hande. etc. a man can nei-
ther fele it nor
yet se it.

I haue troubled you longe, partelye beyng out of
my matter, partelye beyng in. But now I wyl make
an ende. I begane wyth thys text. *Quaecunque scripta
sunt. etc.** So wyl I ende now for myne owne ease, as
an olde treuaunte wyth thys sentence. *Beati qui
audiunt verbum dei etc.†*

Blessed are they that heare the worde of God, and
kepeth it. I tolde you in the begynning of thys
Parable of *Bene. Nil melius quam latari et facere.* If
I had ceased ther all hadde benne wel, quod the
merye Moonke, so blessed are they that heare the
worde of God. But what foloweth? and kepe it.

Our blessednes commeth of the kepyng. Our b'essed
nes cc mmeth
of the kepe-
ynge
It hanges all on the ende of the tale, in
crediting and assentyng to the woorde,

and folowyng of it. And thus

we shal begyn oure blessed

nes here, and at the

length we shal

come to

the

blessyng that neuer shal

haue ende, whych

God graunt

both you

and me,

Amen.

* Rom. xv. 4.

† Luke xl. 28

The fifte

Sermon of Master Hughe

Latimer, whynche he preached before
the kynges Maiestye wpythin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
fifte daie of
April.



*Vacunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges yat are wrytten, thei are wrytten, to be oure doctrine. What doctrine is wrytten for vs in the parable of the Iudge, and the wyddowe, I haue opened it to you, moste honorable audience.

Some thinge as concerning the Iudge, I woulde wythe and praye, that it myghte be a lytle better kept in memorye, that in the seate of Iustyce, no more iniquitie and vnryghtuousnes, myght raygne.

Thys I feare
me is sooner
wyshed then
often sene but
yet let vs prai

Some can
spel and spy
oute lunde
and put
together fuste
inough, but
when they read
or heare a
good lesson,
that commith
in at one eare
and goeth out
at the other

Better a lytle wel kept, then a greate deale forgotten. I wold the Iudges woulde take forth theyr lesson, that there myghte be no more iniquitye vsed, nor brybe-takinge, for if there shall be brybynge, they knowe the peryl of it, they knowe what shal followe. I wolde also they shoulde take an example of this Iudge that dyd saye, not that that he thought hym selfe, but our sauoure Christ puttes him to saye that thyng, that was hid vnto him selfe.

Wherfore I wold ye should kepe memorye, how vnsearcheable a mans hert is. I woulde ye should remembre the fall of the Angels, and beware thereby, the fall of the olde worlde, and beware therby.

Marke ma-

The fal of Sodome and gomorhe, and be

ware therby. 'The fall of Lothes wyfe, and beware thereby. The fall of the manne that suffered of late, and beware therbye.

ny caueates
and beware-
byes.

I woulde not that miserable folke should forget the argument of the wycked Iudge, to induce them to prayer, whyche argumente is thys. If the Iudge beyng a tyraunte, a cruell man, a wycked man, whych did not call hir to hym, made hir no promise, nor in herynge nor helpynge of hir cause, yet in the ende of the matter for the importunityes sake dyd helpe hyr, muche more almighty god which is a father who beareth a fatherlye affection, as the father doeth to the chylde, and is naturallie mercifull, and calleth vs to him wyth hys Promise that he wyll heare them that call vpon hym, that be in distres and burdened with aduersitie. Remembre this. You knowe where to haue youre remedy. You by youre prayer can worcke greate efficacye. And your prayer wyth teares is an instrument of great efficacy. It canne brynge many thynges to passe. But what thinge is that, that maketh oure prayer acceptable to god? is it oure bablyng? No, no. It is not oure babbling nor oure long prayer. There is an other thyng then it.

The argu-
ment of the
wycked iud-
ges shuld in-
duce vs to
prayer.

What maye
be wrought by
prayer.

What ma-
keth our pra-
yer accepta-
ble to God

The dygnitie and worthines of our wordes, is of no such vertue. For whosoever resorteth vnto God, not in the confidence of hys own merites, but in the sure truste of the deseruinge of oure Saiuour Iesus Chryste, and in hys passyon.

Whosoever doeth inuocate the father of heauen, in the truste of Christes merites, whyche offerynge is the most comfortable and acceptable offerynge to the father. Whosoever I saye offereth vp Christe, whyche is a perfecte offerynge, he can not be denied the thing he desyreth, so that it be expedyent for hym to haue it. It is not the bablyng of oure lippes, nor dignitie of oure wordes, but the prayer of the herte is the offeryng that pleaseth thorowe the

Our prayer
pleaseth God
for Christes
sake when we
dystrust oure
own merites
and trust in
hys deseruin-
ges.

onely meanes of hys sonne For oure prayer profyteth vs bycause we offer Christe to hys father.

In all our praye[r]s we muste brynge a present with vs to god and marke wel who it is,

Whosoever resorteth to god wyth out Christ, he resorteth in vayne. Our prayer pleaseth, because of Iesu Christ, whom we offer. So that it is fayth, fayth, fayeth, is the matter, It is no prayer that is wythout fayth, it is but a lyppe labouring, and monkery wythout fayth. It is but a lytle bablynge.

I spake also of lacke of fayth, and vpon that also I sayed, the ende of the worlde is neare at hande, For ther is lacke of faith nowe. Also the defection is come

Coniectures why the ende of the worlde is supposed to be neare at hande.

and swaruinge from the fayth. Antichriste the man of synne, the sonne of iniquiti is reueiled, the latter daye is at hande. Let vs not thynke hys commynge is farre of.

But when foeuer he cometh he shall fynde iniquitye inough, let him come when he wil What is nowe behinde? we be eatynge and drynckynge as they were in Noes tyme, and Marynge I thyncke as wyckedly as euer was. We be buildynge purchachinge, planting in the contempte of Gooddes worde. He maye come shortelye when he wyll, for there is so much mischief and swaruyng from the fayeth

As much wickednes vsyd in oure tyme as euer was in the time of Noe

(raynynge nowe in oure dayes) as euer was in anye age. It is a good warnynge to vs all to make readye agaynste hys commynge, Thys lyttle reheresall I haue

M. Latimer returneth to hys former question and to the dissolution of the same.

Wether Godds people maye be gouerned by a kyng or no.

The kynges of the Jewes were elected and chosen of God.

made of the thynges I speake in my last sermon. I wyll nowe for thys daye retourne to my question and dissolue it, whether goddes people maye be gouerned by a gouernoure that bereth the name of a kyng or no. The Iewes hadde a lawe that when they shoulde haue a kyng they shoulde haue hym accordynge to the election of god, he would not leaue the election of a kyng to theyr owne braynes. There be some busy braynes, wantton wyttes, that saye, the name of a kyng is an odyouse

name and wrieth this text of the scripture, ^{i Regu. viii.} wher god semeth to be angrye and displeased with the Isralites for askyng a kyng expounding it very euill and odiously. As who wold say a king were an odious thynge. I comminge ridinge in my way, and calling to remembraunce wherfore I was sent, that I must preach, and preach afore ye kyngs maiesti I thought it mete to frame my preching according to a king. Musyng of thys I remembred miselfe of a boke that came from Cardinall Pole, maister Pole the kynges traytor, whyche he sent to the kynges maiestye. I neuer remember that man me thyncke, but I remember hym wyth a heauye herte, a wyttye man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in fauoure that if he had taried in the realme, and woulde haue conformed hym selfe to the Kynges procedynges, I hearde saye, and I beleue it verelye, that he hadde bene Byshop of Yorcke at this day. To be a bidden by, he wold haue done muchegood in that parte of the Realme. For those quarters haue all wayes had greate nede of a learned man, and a preachynge prelatte. A thynge to be muchelamented that suche a man shoulde take suche a waye. I here saye he readeth muche Sayncte Ieromes workes, and is wel sene in theim. But I woulde he woulde followe sayncte Ierome, wher he expoundeth thys place of scripture.

*Exite de illa populus meus.** All mightie god saieth. Get you from it, get you from Rome, he calles it, the purple hore of Babilon. It had bene more commendable to go from it, then to come to it. What his sayings be in his boke, I do not well remember, it is in the farthest ende of my memorye.

He declareth hym selfe in it, to haue a corrupte iudgemente, I haue but a glym-

Oure preachinge must be framed accordyng to the persons before who[m] we preache.

C. Pole the kynges traytor, a traytor agaynste kynde and nature.

M. Latimer laments the defection of C. Pole and the breche of hys allegiaunce to hys lyege and Royale kyng.

They nede as greatly at thys daye as euer they did.

Cardinal Pole sayth (they saye) to rede muche Saint Ieromes woorkes.

Rome is called of Ierome the purple hoore of Babilon

He meaneth of the booke that C. Pole

* My people, go ye out of the midst of her.—Jer. li. 45.

dyd sende to
the kynge.

The scope
or state of
the boke, ten-
des to dys-
uade the kin-
ge from hys
supremycye.

Spoken like
a Cardinal
who may lie
by authorite
because he
dwelleth at
Rome.

meringe of it Yet in generally, I remember the scope of it. He goeth aboute to dissuade the kynge from his supremicie. In his perswasions he is very whomye, verye quicke and sharpe wyth the Kynge as these Cardinals wyll take well vpon theym. He sayeth that a kynge is an odious worde, and touched the place how god was offended with the Israelites for calling for a kyng.

Verylyghtely he semeth to sette forth the title of a kynge. As thoughe he shoulde meane: what is a Kynge? What should a Kynge take vpon hym to redresse matters of religion? It pertayneth to oure holy father of Rome. A kynge is a name and a title rather suffered of God as an euell thyng, then alowed as a good thyng.

Callynge thys to remembraunce, it was an occasion that I spake altogether before. Nowe I wyll answer to thys. For the answere I muste somewhat rypppe the eyght Chapter of the fyrst boke of the Kynges. And that I mai haue grace, etc.



O come to ye opening of this mater. I must begyne at the begynning of the Chapter, that the vnlearned (although I am sure, here be a greate many well learned) maye the better come to the vnderstand-

inge of the matter. *Factum est cum senuisset Samuel i. Regu. viii. fecit filios suos iudices populo.** etc. It came to passe when Samuell was stricken in age, he made hys sonnes Iudges ouer Israell. Of Samuell I might feche a processe a far of, of ye storye of Elcana, who was hys father, and who was hys mother, Elcana hys father had two wyues, Anna and Phennenna, and dyd not put theym awaie, as men do nowe adayes.

A taunt (by
the waye) to
suche as vse
vnlawful di-
uorcementes.

Ther was debate betwene these two wyues. Phenenna in the doing of sacrifice, embayded Anna bycause she was barren, and not fruitfull.

* And it came to pass, when sons iudges over Israel.—1 Sam. Samuel was old, that he made his viii. 1.

I might take here occacion to entreate of the dutye betwene man and wyfe, whiche is a holy religyon, but not religiouflie kepte But I wyll not enter into that matter at thys tyme. Well, in proceffe of tyme, God made Inna fruitfull, thorowe hyr deuoute prayer. She broughte forth Samuell, whoe by the ordinaunce of God, was made the hyghe pryeste. Father Samuell a good man, a singular example, and singular patron, a manne alone, fewe suche men as father Samuell was. To be shorte he was now come to age, he was an old man, an impotente man, not able to go from place to place to minister iustice, he electes and chofes two suffraganes, two coadiutours, two cohelpers, I meane not hallowers of belles, nor Christiners of belles, that is a popysh suffraganship, he made them to healpe hym, to dyscharge his office, he chose hym two sonnes rather than other, because he knewe them to be wel broughte vp in vertue, and learnynge, It was not for anye carnall affection, he cared not for hys renowne, or reuenewes, but he appoynted them for the ease of the people, the one for to supply hys place in Bethsabe, and the other in Bethlem.

Anna of barren made fruitful and mother to Samuel.

Samuell beinge aged chose to hym two suffraganes to assyst hym in hys offyce.

Why he chose hys owne two sonnes rather than any other

Samuel tenderinge the ease of hys people appoynted two officers.

As we haue now in England, for the wealthe of the Realme, two Lordes presidentes, Surelye, it is wel done, and a goodly order, I wold ther were a thyrd in an other place.

A third Lord president wold do wel

For the ease of hys people, good father Samuell, and to discharge hys offyce in places wher he coulde not come hym selfe, he sette hys twoo sonnes in offyce wyth hym, as hys suffraganes, and as hys Coadiutoures.

Here I myght take occasion to treat what olde and impotente Byshoppes should do, what olde preachers should do, when they come to impotency, to ioynce wyth them preachers preachers, not Belhallowers, and to departe, parte of theyre lyuynge wyth them.

What the impotent and olde byshoppes should do when they are not able to susteyn the traynail and paynes

I myghte haue dylated this matter at

of preaching large. But I am honestelye preuented of
thys commune place, and I am verye glad of it.

There are to many suche flesche feders
It was very well handeled the laste
Sondaye. They that wyl not for the
offyce sake receyue other, regarde more
the flesche then the flocke.

Father Samuel, regarded not hys reuenewes. Our
Amen, Lorde gyue them grace to be affected as
he was, and to followe him. etc. Thoughe I saye that
I would wishe mo Lorde presidentes. I meane not

M. Latimer
woulde not
haue byshop-
pes and pre-
lates Lord
presidentes

that I woulde haue prelates, Lordes pre-
sidentes, nor that Lorde byshoppes shall
be Lorde presydenes. As touchynge that,
I sayed my mynde and conscience the last
yeare.* And al thoughe it is sayed, *Præsumt*,
it is not mente that they should be Lorde presidentes,
the offyce of a Lorde presydenshyp is a ciuyll
offyce, and it canne not be that one manne
shal dyscharge bothe. Wel, it followeth in
the texte. *Non ambulauerunt filii eius
in uis eius, etc.*† Hys sonnes walked not
in hys wayes, heare is the matter, here ye se the good-
nes of Samuell, howe, when he was not able to take
the paynes him selfe for theyr owne ease, he ap-
pyoynted them Iudges neare them as it were in the
further partes of hys Realme, to haue Iustyce ryghtly
ministered. But what folowed.

The office of
a president-
shyp is a cy-
uyl offyce
and occupi-
eth a man
wholy.

Thoughe Samuell were good, and hys chyldrene
well brought vppe, looke what the world can do? Ah
crafty world? Whome shall not thys worlde
corrupte and deceyue at one tyme or other?
Samuel thoughte hys sonnes shoulde
haue proued well, but yet Samuels sonne
walked not in theyr fathers waye. Why?
what then? Is the sonne alwayes bounde
to walke in the fathers waye?

The worlde
wyl corrupt
and deceyue
vs or we be
ware of it
the dyuell is
so crafty and
lucre is so
swete.

* [According to the old reckoning,
the *Sermon on The Ploughers* (see
references to this subject at pp. 27
—29 of Ed. 1868) preached on 18th
Jan., 1549, would by Latimer, preach-

ing on 5th April following, be then re-
ferred as in 'the laste yeare' (old
style.)]

† His sons walked not in his ways.
—2 Sam. viii. 3.

No, ye muste not take it for a generall rule. All sonnes are not to be blamed in theyre fathers wayes.

Ezechias dyd not folowe the steppes of his father Ahaz, and was well alowed in it. Iosias the beste kyng that euer was in Iewry, refourmed hys fathers wayes, who walked in worldly policie.

In hys youth, he toke a waye all Idolatrye, and purged hys Realme of it, and set a good order in al his Dominions, wrestled with Idolatrye.

And althoughe hys father or hys grande father Manasses (it makes no matter whether) repented hym in the ende he had no tyme to refourme thynges, he left it to hys sonne to be done.

Iosias beganne and made an alteracion in hys chyldehode, he toured al vpfydowne, he would suffer no Idolatrye to stand.

Therefore, you must not take it for a general rule, that ye sonne muste euer walke in his fathers wayes.

Here I wyll renewe, that whyche I sayed before of the styfnecked Iewes, the rebellious people (that is theyr tytle) they neuer spake so rebelliouslye, as to saye, they woulde not receyue any alteration, tyll theyr kyng came to age. Muche lesse we Englyshe men, if (there be anye suche in Englande) maye be ashamed.

I wonder wyth what conscience folke can heare suche thinges and alowe it.

Thys Iosias made a notable alteration, and therefore take it not for a general rule, that the sonne shall alwayes walke in hys fathers wayes.

Thynke not because he was slayne in battayle, that God was displeased wyth hym. For herein God shewed hys goodnes to hym wonderfullie, who woulde not suffer hym to se the captiuite that he would bringe vpon the Israelites. He would not

The sonne is not alwayes bounden to walke in the fathers, wayes.

Ezechias did not follow the steppes of his father Ahaz
iii. Re. xviij.
Iosias refourmed the wayes of hys father Amon
iij. Re. xxij.
and. xxij.

He was but eyght yeare olde when he beganne to Raygne.

We are more styfneckyd more rebellious and sturdier then the Iewes.

Thys is no rule to reken vpon.

Iosias was slayne in battayle of Pharaos Necho kyng of Egypt at Magyddu.
iiij. Reg. xij.

hym to haue the fyght, the fealyng, and the behold-
yng of hys plage, he suffered hym to be taken away
before, and to be slayne of the kynge of Egypt.

Wherefore a iuste man muste be glade when he is
taken from misery. *Iustus si morte præoccupatus fuerit
in refrigerio erit.** If a iuste man be preuented wyth
deathe, it shal be to hys relyefe. He must thynke that
he is one of those, whome the worlde is not worthy
to haue, it came of a singular goodnesse of god, that he
was by death delyuered frome the fyght of that capti-
uitie. Therefore take it not for a general rule, that the
sonnes be alwaies bounde to walke in the fathers wayes.

Nolite in præceptis patrum uestrorum incedere.† Walke
not in the commaundementes of youre fathers. For so
it is sayed in another place of scrypture. It is spoken to
the reproche of Samuels sonnes that they walked not
in hys waye, for he was a good man.

A wonderful thyng that these chyl dren beyng so
well brought vp should so fal and be corrupte, Yf the
dyuell can preuayle and hath power agaynste them,
that had so Godlye education, what vantage hath he
at them yat be brought vp iniquitie and couetousnes?
It is a Prouerbe that *magistratus uirum commonstrat.*

Authoritye
and offyce
tryeth what
a man is.

Thys hathe
bene often
tymes vere-
fied and sent
in prechers,
before they
were byshop-
pyd or benefi-
ced.

Office and authoritye sheweth what a man
is. A man knoweth not hym selfe, tyl he
be tryed. Many there be that being with-
out office can rebuke magistrates, and synd
faut with men that be in office and pre-
eminence. After when it commeth to
their chaunce to come to office them
selues, then they haue taken out a newe
lesson. *cum esse paruulus sapiebam ut par-*

ulus.‡ When I was a child, I sauered as a childe.

Do as the
most do, and
the fewest
shal wonder
at theym.

They wyll do then as other men do,
they are come to haue experience, to be
practicioners. The maydes chylde is
euer best taughte, for he hath standes vp
ryghte in office, he is the fellow, Samuell wold neuer

* The righteous is taken away from your fathers.—Ezek. xx. 18.
the evil to come.—Isa. lvi. 1.

† Walk ye, not in the statutes of thought as a child.—1 Cor. xiii. 11.

haue thought that hys sonnes shold haue bene so corrupted. It is a perillous thyng, a dangerous state to be a iudge. They felte ye smaker of the worlde, a perillous thyng. And therefore S Chrysostom sayth. *Mirror si aliquis rectorum saluabitur.* I maruaile (sayeth he) yat ani ruler can be sau'd. If the peril were wel considered men would not be so desirous as they be. The world ye world hath many subtil sleighes, it is a craftie thyng and verie deceitfull, a corrupter, and who is it whom the worlde doeth not corrupte and blynde at one tyme or other.

The state of a iudge is dangerous and lucre is so lickorous that he that once lykes of it, leketh it.

The good man Nemo otherwyse called nobody that dwelleth wyth Vtopia.

What was the waye they walked? *Declinauerunt post auaritiam.** That is one. Thei stouped after gayne, they turned a syde after lucre. What folowed? *Acceperunt munera.** They toke rewardes gyftes, brybes I should cal theym, for that is theyr ryghte name. What then? *Peruerterunt iudicium.** They turned Iustice vpsedowne. Eyther they would gyue wrong iudgemente, or els put of and delaye poore mennes matters.

They cal them rewardes but bribes is the fyrst letter of theyr Christian name.

These were theyr wayes, here is the Deuyles genealogye. A gradation of the Diuyles making. This is, *Scala inferni.* The ladder of hell.

The Diuels geanealogye the ladder of hell.

I tolde you before of *scali cæli*, the ladder of heauen, I woulde you shoulde not forget it. The steppes thereof are set forth in the tenth to the Romaines. The fyrste is preachynge, then hearynge, then beleuyng, and laste of all Saluation. *Scala cæli*, is a preachynge matter I tell you, and not a massying matter, goddes instrument of saluation, is preachynge.

Preachynge Henryng Beleuyng and saluacion.

Here I moued you my Lordes, not to be greadye and outragious in enhaunsynge, and rayfinge of youre rentes, to the minishynge of the offyce of saluation. It

Wel moued and Godlye exhausted of M. Latimer but hie minded or slow.

† And his sons walked not in his wayes, but turned aside after lucre, and took bribes, and perverted judgment.—1 Sam. viii. 3.

Iye followed
for all that.

it is in Oxforde I can not tell.

The studi of
diuinitie deca-
yed in Cam-
briege

The vsurped
supremytie
of the bysh-
[op] of Rome
wyl not be
kept out with
a lytle Eng-
lyshe dyui-
nitie

Here I

M. Latimer
is reasonabl
request for
poore schol-
lers ex[h]iby-
cions.

Wher vpon
we maye be-
stowe once
goodes wel,
and please
God wel

woulde pytye a mans hert to heare that,
that I heare of the state of Cambrige, what
study diuinitie, but so many as of neces-
sity must furnysh ye Colledges. For their
lyuynges be so small, and vytaylee so dere,
that they tarry not ther, but go othre where to
seke lyuynges and so they go aboute. Nowe therebe
a fewe gentylmen and they studye a little diuinitie.

Alas, what is that? it wil come to passe
that we shal haue nothyng but a lytle
Englyshe diuinitie, that wyl bryng the
Realme into a verye barbarousnes, and
vtter decaye of learnynge. It is not that,
I wyfte, that wyl kepe oute the suprema-
cy of the byshoppe of Rome.

I wyl make a supplicacion, that ye would
bestow so muche to the fyndynge of
schollers, of good wyttes, of poore mens
sonnes, to exercise the offyce of saluacion,
in releuing of scholers, as ye were wont
to bestowe in Pylgrimage matters, in trentals, in masses,
in purgatorye matters, Ye bestowed that lyberallye,
bountyfully, but thys was not wel spente.

You hadde a zeale but not *Secundum scientiam*.*

Not accordynge to knowledge. You may
besure yf you bestowe youre goodes on
thys wyfe, ye shall bestowe it wel to
supporte and vpholde Goddes word,
wherin ye shal please God.

I requyre no more, but that ye bestowe so muche
Godlye, as ye were wonte to bestowe vngodlye.

It is a resonable petition, for Goddes sake, looke
vpon it I say no more.

They that
haue least
nede haue
most heale

There be none nowe but greate mens
sonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers loke
not to haue them preachers, so euerye
waye thys offyce of preachynge, is pyncht at.

* For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not accord-
ing to knowledge. — Rom. x. 9.

I wil speake no more of *Scala cali*, But I am furer
 thys is *Scala inferni*, the ryghte waye to hell, to be
 couetous, to take bribes, and peruerter iustice. If a
 iudge shoulde aske me the waye to hell, I woulde
 shewe hym thys waye. Fyrste let hym be
 a couetouse man, let hys herte be poysoned
 wyth couetousnes. Then let hym go a
 lyttle further and take brybes, and laste peruerter
 iudgemente. Loo, heare is the mother and the
 daughter, and the daughters daughter. Auarice is
 the mother, she brynges forthe brybe takynge, and
 bribe takynge, peruertyng of iudgement.

The ready
 waye downe
 to the deuyl
 in hell

Ther lacks a fourth thing to make vp the messe,
 whyche so God helpe me if I were iudg,
 shoulde be *Hangum tuum*, a tyburne
 typet to take wyth hym, and it were the
 iudge of the kinges bench, my Lorde
 chyefe Iudge of Englande, yea, and it were my
 Lord Chaunceloure hym selfe, to tiburne wyth hym.

A tyburne tip-
 pet for brybbe
 takers and per-
 uerters of iud
 gement.

Ther was wyth in these. xxx. yeares a certain wyd-
 dow, whych sodaynlye was attached, had to
 pryson, indyted, condempned, and there
 were certayne learned men that visited
 her in the prizon. Oh I woulde ye woulde resorte
 to Prysonnes. A commendable thyng in a chrysten
 realme, I woulde wyshe there were curates
 for prysonnes, that we myght saye, the
 curate of Newegate, the curate of the
 flet, and I woulde haue theym well waged
 laboure. It is a holy daye worcke to vyset
 the prisoners, for they be kepte from ser-
 mons. Ther was that resorted to thys wo-
 man, who, when she came to pryson, was
 beades, and nothyng else, a popysh woman, and sau-
 uered not of Iesu Christe. In processe she was so
 applyed that she tasted. *Quam suavis est
 dominus.** She had suche a sauore, suche a
 swetenes and felynge that she thought it
 longe to the daye of execution. She was wyth
 Christe al ready, as touchynge fayeth.

The wydow
 that was in
 prizon.

Ther shulde
 be curates
 for presones.

A holy daye
 worke to vy-
 set the preso-
 ners.

The woman
 turned from
 popystrye by
 the diligent
 resort of the
 learned, fre-
 quentyng the
 presone.

* That the LORD is gracious.—1 Pet. ii. 3.

She had suche a defyre that she sayed wyth saynt Paule. *Cupio dissolui et esse cum christo.*† I defyre to be ryd, and to be wyth Christ. The word of God had so wrought in hyr, when she was brought to punysshment, she defyred to confesse hyr faulte, she toke of hyr death, that she was gyltlesse in that thyng she suffered for, and hyr neyghbours woulde haue borne hyr wytnes in the same. She was alwayes an honeste ciuyll woman, hyr neyghbours woulde haue gone on hir purgacion a greate waye.

They would nedes haue hir confesse, then saith she. I am not gylty, wold ye haue me to make me gyltye, wher I am not? Yet for al thys, she was a trespassar, she had done a greate offence.

But before I go forwarde wyth thys, I must fyrst tel you a tale.

I hearde a good whyle ago, a tale of one, I sawe the man yat told me the tale not longe ago, in thys auditorye. He hath traueiled in mo countries then one.

He toulde me that there was once a pretour in Rome, Lorde mayre of Rome, a ryche manne, one of the richest marchauntes in all the cytye, and sodaynelye he was caste in the castlle Aungell. It was herde of, and euerye man, whyspered in an others eare. What hath he done? Hathe he kyllled any man? No. Hath he medled wyth Alam, oure holye fathers merchandice? No. Hathe he counterfaited our holy fathers Bulles. No. For these were hye treasons.

One rowned an other in the car and sayd, *Erat diues*. He was a riche man. A greate fault. Here was a goodlye praye for that holye father. It was in Popes Iulius tyme, he was a greate warrioure. Thys praye woulde healpe hym to maynetayne hys warres, a ioly praye for oure holye father.

So thys woman was *Diues*. She was a rych woman, she had hir landes by the Shiriffes nose. He was a gentilman of a longe nose.

A rych mer-
chaunt cast in
to the Castel
Angel.
A gentleman
of a long nose
from suche a

* Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better.
—Phil. i. 23.

Such a cup, fuche a cruse. She would not depart from hir own. 'Thys Shyryffe was a couetuouse man, a worldly man. The Iudge at the enpanyng of the queste, hadde hys grauelookes, and charged them wyth thys. It was the kynges matter, loke wel vpon it.

nose, I praye
God, Libera
nos et salua
nos

When it makes for theyr purpose, they haue the Kyng, the kinge, in their mouthes.

Wel, some what there was, ther was walkynge of angelles betwene them. I would wyfhe that of fuche a Iudge in Englande now, we might haue ye skin hanged vp. It were a goodly signe the fygne of the iudges skynne. It shoulde be Loths wyfe, to all Iudges that shoulde folow after. By thys ye may perceiue, it is possible for a manne to answere for him selfe, and be arraigned at the barre, and neuertheles to haue wronge. Yea, ye shall haue it in fourme of lawe, and yet haue wronge to. So it is possible in a case, for a manne that hath in hys absense atintament [at-taintment]. to haue right, and no wronge.

The sygne
of the Iud-
ges skynns

A man maye
answer for
him selfe and
yet haue
wronge, and
be absent, and
yet haue
ryghte.

I wil not say naye, but it is a good lawe for a man to answere for him selfe, thys is reasonable, allowable and good. And yet fuche an vrgent cause maye be, fuche a respect to a commune wealth that a man may rightlye be condemned in hys absense. There be fuche causes that a man may in hys absense be condemned, but not ofte, excepte they be such cases that the reason of the generall lawe maye be kepte. I am prouoked of some to condempne this lawe, but I am not able, so it be but for a time, and vppon wayghty consideracions, so that it be vsed rarely, feldomly, for auoydyng disturbaunce in the commune wealth, such an epiky and moderacion maye be vsed in it.

And neuertheles it is verry mete and requisite that a man shoulde answere for hym selfe.

We muste consider the ground of the lawe: for *Ratio legis, anima legis*. The reason of the law, is ye soule of the

The reason of
the lawe is
the soule of
the lawe.

law. Whi? what is the reason and ende of the lawe? It is thys, that no man shoulde be iniured. A man may in hys attayntmente haue no more wronge done hym then if he aunswered for hym selfe.

Ah then I am not able to saye, that in no wyfe, and arrainement maye be tourned in to attayntement, A man may haue wronge and that in open iudgemente, and in forme of lawe, and yet alowed to answere for hym selfe: and euen so is possible he maye haue ryghte thoughe he neuer aunswere for hym selfe. I wyll not say but that the parlament houses both hye and lowe, may erre, and yet they may do wel, and

How we must
take the doyn-
ges of the par-
liament.

christen subiectes must take all thynges to the beste, and expounde theyr doyniges well, althoughe they can not yelde, a reason for it, except their proceedings be manifestli wicked. For though they can not attayne to se for what purpose thynges be done, it is no good reafone that they be called euell done therefore. And is thys

An vntrue ar-
gument.

a good argumente, he is not alowed to answer for hym selfe in thys place or that place, where he wyll appoynte: Ergo, he is not alowed to answere for him selfe? No.

He myght haue aunswered the beste he coulde for hym selfe before a greate meanye, and haue hadde moe to, if he had requyred theym. Yea, and was commaunded vpon his allegiaunce to speake for hym selfe, and to make aunswere, but he woulde not, nedes he woulde come oute to Iudgemente, and appoynte the place hymselfe.

A manne that answeres for hym selfe at the barre, is not allowed hys manne of lawe to answere for hym, but he muste aunswere hym selfe. Yet in the Parlia-

Fre lyberty
is graunted
speake in the
Parliament
house.

mente, although he were not there hym selfe, anye frende he had, had lyberty to aunswere for hym, franke, and fre, I know of olde the manner. The tenoure of the wryttes is thys, Euerye man to speake the best he knoweth of hys conscyence, for the kynges magesties honour, and the wealth of the realme. There were

in the Parliament in both houses, a greate manye learned men, conscionable men, wyse men. When that man was attaynted there, and they hadde lybertye, there to say naye, to hys attayntmente yf they woulde. Sure I am the mooste allowed it, or else it coulede not haue gone forwarde.

These premisses considered. I woulde haue you to beare suche a hart, as it becommeth christen subiectes. I knowe what men saie of me wel ynoughe, I could pource my selfe.

There is that prouokes me to speake ag[a]ynst thys lawe of attayntemente, they saye I am not indyfferente. Surelye I woulde haue it to be doone rarely vpon some great respecte to the commune wealthe, for auoydynge of greater tumulte and peryll.

Saynt Paule was allowed to answere for hym selfe, yf Lysias the tribune hadde not plucked him awaye from shewynge of hys matter, it hadde coste hym hys lyfe.

Paule was allowed to answer for hym selfe.

Actes xxi.

Where he was saued by the magystrate, beyng but a pryuate manne. Wyll ye not alowe that some thyng be done as wel for sauynge of the magystrates lyte? It behoues theym of the Parliament to looke well vpon the matter. And I for my parte thynke not but they dyd well, else I should not yelde the dutye of a subiecte.

Some liken me to doctoure Shaw, that preached at Pauls crosse, that Kynge Edwardes sonnes were bastardes. An

M. Latimer likened to doctour Shaw.

easy matter for one of the counsell to induce Latimer to make a lie as doctour Shaw dyd. Me thinke you beyng the kynges seruauent and hys offycer, shoulde thynke better on the Kynge, and hys counsell, though I were lyghte of belefe. If he had bene a true man to hys mayster, he woulde neuer haue spoken it.

The counsaile nedes not my lye, for the defence of that, that they do. I canne beare it of my selfe. Concerninge my selfe, that, that which I haue spoken, hath done some good.

You wyl saye thys. The Parliamente house are wyser then I am, you myghte leaue theym to defence

of them selues. Although the men of the Parliament house can defende them selues, yet haue I spoken thys of a good zeale, and a good ground of the Admyralles wrytting, I haue not fayned, nor lyed one iote. Vse your Iudgement and languages, as it becommeth Christian subiectes.

I wyl nowe leaue the honourable counsayle to
 One fact confessed of the Admyral, he would not haue the kynge brought vp lyke a warde in hys minority
 answer for themselues. He confessed one facte, he would haue hadde the gouernaunce of the kynges maiestye. And wot ye why? He sayed he would not in his minority haue hym brought vp lyke a warde. I am sure he hath bene brought vp so Godly, wyth such Sholemaysters as neuer kynge was in Englande, and so hathe prospered vnder them, as neuer none dyd. I wotte not what he mente by hys bryngyng vp lyke a warde, onles he would haue hym not to go to hys boke and learne as he doeth. Nowe woo worth hym, yet I wyl not say so neyther. but I pray God amende hym, or els God sende hym short lyfe, that would haue my soueraygne not to be brought vp in learnynge, and would plucke hym from hys booke. In aduertise the therefore my fellowe subiecte, vse thy tonge better, and expounde well the doynges of the magystrates.

Now to the purpose, for these thynges lette me of my matter, and yet they be necessarye.

Some saye preachers should not meddle wyth suche matters, but dyd not oure Sauoure Iesus Christe medle wyth matters of Iudgemente, when he spake of the wycked Iudge, to leaue ensample to vs that followe, to do the same?

Ye se here, that Ladye couetousnes is a
 Ladye couetousnes is a chyldyng woman.
 fruitfull woman, euer chyldyng, and euer bryngynge forth her frutes. It is a true sayinge. *Radix omnium malorum auaritia.** Couetousnes is the roote of all wykednes. One wyl say peraduenture, you speake vnsemelye and in conuenientlye so to be agaynste the offycers, for takynge of rewardes in doyng pleasures.

* The love of money is the root of all evil.—2 Tim vi. 10.

Ye confyder not the matter to the bot-
tome. Theyr offyces be bought for great
sommes, nowe howe shall they receyue
theyre money agayne, but by brybynge ye woulde haue
them vndone. Some of them gaue. CC. [two hundred]
poundes some. v.C. [fue hundred] pounce, some.
ii. M [two thousand] pound, And how shal they
gather vp thys money agayne, but by healpynge
them selues in theyre offyce. And is it so trowe ye?
Are ciuile offyces bought for monei? *
Lorde God. Who would haue thought
that? Let vs not be to hasty to credit it
For then we haue the old prouerbe, *Om-
nia uenalia Romæ*. All thynges are solde
for mony at rome, and rome is come home to oure
own dores. If thei bei, thei must nedes sel, for it is
wittely spoken. *Vendere iure potest, emerat ille
prius*, he may lawefully sel it, he bought it be-
fore. God forfend that euer any such enormitie
shuld be in England, that ciuile offyces should be
boughte and sould, wher as men shulde haue them
gyuen them for theyr worthines, I would the kinges
maiestye shuld seke thorow his realme for mete men,
and able men, worthy to be in offyce, yea
and gyue them liberally for theyr paynes,
and rather geue them money to take the
offyce in hande, then they to geue money for it. Thys
byinge of offyces is a makynge of bry-
berye, it is an enducynge, and enfor-
ynge, and compelling of men to bryberye.
Holye scripture qualifyeth the offycers and sheweth
what maner of men they shulde be and of what
qualites, *Viros fortes*,† Some Translations
haue *Viros sapientes*.† The Englyshe
translation hath it verye well. Menne
of actyuitye that haue stomakes to do theyr office, they
must not be milke soppes, nor whyte lyuered knyghtes,
they muste be wyse, hartye, hardye men
of a good stomake. Secundarely, he quali-

He that byeth
dere must ne-
des sel theraf-
ter

* Ye must va-
derstande,
'yea, as well
as cyuy! oyle'
to make
the sentence
perfect.

Mete men
able, and
worthy to be
put in offyce

It is a brybe-
ry to bye of-
fices.

What man-
ner of men of-
ficers shulde
be.

They muste
haue, iiii. pro-
perties.

* Thou shalt provide out of all the men of truth, hating covetousness.—
people able men such as fear God, Exod. xviii. 22.

fyeth them wyth the feare of god. He ſaieth they muſt be *Timentes deum*. * fearyng God. For yf he feare God, he ſhalbe no bryber, no paruerter of iudgemente, faythful. Thyrdly they muſt be choſen offycers. *In quibus eſt veritatis*. * In whome is trueth. If he ſaye it, it ſhalbe done. Fourthly. *Qui oderunt auaritiā*. * Hatynge couetouſnes, farre from it, he wyll not come nere it, that hateth it. It is not he that wyll geue. v. C.

Fyue C. ponde,
unnde, geuen
for an offyce

[fiue hundred] ponde for an offyce. Wyth theſe qualities Goddes wyſedome woulde haue magiſtrates to be qualified. Thys commeth from the deuylles conſistory to pay. v. C [fiue hundred] poundes for one offyce. If they paye ſo much, it muſt nedes

They that
are mete to
beare offyce
wold be ſought out and lyberally feed
Sellynge of
offices and
ſellyng of be-
nefyces are
both one.
that is to ſay
Symony o-
therwyſe
called Se
money.

followe that they take brybes, that they be brybe takers. Suche as be mete to beare office ſeke them out, hyere them, geue them compotente and lyberall fees that they ſhall not nede to take anye brybes. And if ye be at ſelling ciuile offices, ye are as they which ſell theyr benefyces, and ſo we ſhal haue. *Omnia uenalia*.

Al thinges boughte for money. I meruaile the ground gapes not and deuours vs, how be it, we ought not to maruaile,

ſurely it is, the great lenitie of god that ſuffers it. Oh Lorde in what caſe are we If the great men in Turkey ſhuld uſe in theyr religion of Mahomete to ſell as our patrons commonlye ſell benefyces here, the offyce of preachinge, the office of ſaluacion it ſhoulde be taken

The Turke
would not
ſuffer that
we do.

as an intollerable thing. The turke would not ſuffer it in his common wealth. Patrons be charged to ſee the office done, and not to ſeke a lucre and a gaine by his patronſhip.

The patrons
deutye, in be-
ſtowynge of
his benefyce.

Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande and a good brother of mine came vnto hym and brought hym. xxx. Apples in a dyſh, and gaue them hys man to carrye them to

The merye

* Such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetouſneſſe Exod. xviii 1.

hys mayster. It is like he gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and so ther was xxxi. This man commeth go his mayster and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge. Syr fuche a man hathe sente you a dyshe of frute, and desyreth you to be good vnto hym for fuche a benefyce. Tushe tushe, quod he, thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orchearde. The man came to the pryest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. Then quod the priest, desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better then they loke for. He cut one of them and founde ten peces of golde in it. Mary quod he, thys is a good apple. The pryest standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, they are all one apples I warrante you Syr, they grewe all on one tree, and haue all one taste. Well, he is a good fellowe, let hym haue it quode the patrone, etc. Get you a grafte of thys tre and I warrante you it shall stand you in better steade then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take hede for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe throughe theyr defaute. There is a saying that ther be a greате maenye in Englande that saye there is no soule, that beleue not in the immortalitye of mans soule, that thyncke it is not eternal, but lyke a dogges soule, that thynke there is neyther heauen nor hell. Oh Lord, what a wayghtye, matter is thys? What a lamentable thyng in a chrysten common wealth? I can not tell what they saye, but I perceyue by their worckes that they thyncke so, or elles they woulde neuer do as they do. These sellers of offices shew that they beleue that there is neyther hell nor heauen. It is taken for a laughynge matter, wel, I wyl gooe on. Nowe to the Chapter. The chyldren of Israell came to Samuell and sayed. *Senuisti.** Thou

tale of the
patrone that
sold a benefy
ce for a deyn
tye dyshe of
Apples

A graft of
gold to get
a benefyce
wyth al is
worth a great
deale of lear
nyng.

The errour
of such as be
leue not the
immortalitye
of Soules.

* Behold, thou art old, and thy us a king to judge us like all the
sons walk not in thy ways: now make nations.—1 Sam. viii. 5.

arte growen into age. Geue vs a King? Thy sonnes walke not in thy wayes. What a heuynes was thys to father Samuels herte, to here that hys sonnes (whom he hadde so well brought vppe) shoulde swarue from hys wayes that he had walked in. Father Samuel goeth to god to know hys wyll and pleasure in thys matter, God answered, let them haue a Kynge. They haue not caste the awaye but me, that I shoulde not raygne ouer them. Thys is theyr grounde that saye a kyng is an odiouse thing and not acceptable before the face of God. Thus they force and violent thys place to make for theyr purpose, wher no such thyng is mente. Shewe the Israelites (sayth god) and testify to them a Kynge's authorite, and what a thing a kyng is, and what a kinge will do. And yat wyl not perswade them. I wyl not here them hear after, when they shal crie vnto me. I muste nedes confesse that the Iewes trespassed against almighty God in asking of a King. But hear is the matter, in what thyng ther offence stode, whether absolutelye in askynge a kynge, or in anye other circumstance. It was in a circumstance. They sayed not. Aske vs a kynge of God: but make vs a kynge to iudge vs as al other nacions haue. They would haue a Kynge of theyr owne swinge and of theyr owne election, as thoughe they paste not of God. In a nother poynte there was pryde. They would be lyke the heathen and iudged vnder kinges as thei were. Thyrdly, they offended God because they asked a kynge to the iniury and wronge of good father Samuel to depose hym, so thys was a wrong toward Samuel. It was not with Samuell and hys children, lyke as wyth Ealy and his children Ophenes and Phines. They were cruel who wyth hokes takynge the fleshe out of the pottes when that sacrifice was offered to brought the people into a contempt of Gods

Samuel was
sorye for the
swaryng of
hys sonne[s]
from hys
wayes

i Sam. viii.

A place vyo-
lentyd and
forsyd to ser-
ue for other
purpose then
it was euer
meant.

Wherin the
entent of the
Iewes, dyd
consyst

The Iewes
offendyd in
thre thynges

A comparison
betwene Sa-
muel and his
sonnen, and
E[li]y and hys
sonnes.

They were lecherers. Theyr synne were manifestlye and notoriously knowen: but theyr father Elye knowynge and herynge of it dyd blame them, but nothinge to purpose, he dyd not earnestly and substancially chastise them, and therefore he was iustlye deposed of God. The synnes of Samuelles sonnes were not knowen, they were not so notorious, wherfore it was not wyth father Samuell as it was wyth Elye, hys sonnes fautes were takynge of brybes, and peruertynge of iudgementes. Ye knowethat, bryberye is a secrete faute, and therefore it was not knowen. It was done vnder a coloure and a pretence of iustice, hidlye and couertly done. Therefore because it stode in brybes it was not like in Samuell as in Elye. It is a daungerous thyng to be in offyce for. *qui attingit picem coinquinabitur ab ea*, He yat medleth wyth pitch is like to be spotted with it. Bribes may be assembled to pitch, for euen as pytche dothe pollute theyr handes that medle with it: so brybes wyl brynge you to peruertynge of iustyce. Beware of pytch, you iudges of the worlde, brybes wyl make you peruert iustice. Why you wil say. We touche none. No mary. But my Mystres your wyfe hath a fyne fynger she toucheth it for you or els you haue a seruauant a *Muneribus* he wyl say yf you wyl come to my master and offer him a yoke of oxen, you shal speede neuer the worffe but I thincke my Mayster wil take none, when he hath offered them to ye maister, then commes another seruauant and sayes. If you wyl bring them to the clarke of the kichen, you shallbe remembred the better. Thys is a fryerly fasshon that wyll receyue no monye in theyr handes but wyll haue it put vpon theyr sleues. A goodly rag of popythe religion. They be lyke graye fryers, they wyll not be sene to receyue no brybes them selues but haue othre to receyue for them.

Ely sonnes were lecherers and manyfest offenders. i. Samuel

Samuels Sonnes wer brybers and perverters of Iudgement.

Brybes are lyke pyche.

Anglice a receyuer of his masters brybes.

A fryerly fasshon in refu-synge of brybes. A goodly rage on popye religion

Thoughe Samuell sonnes were priuye brybers and kepte the thyng verie close, yet the crye of the people brought it to Samuell, It was a hyd kynde of synne. For men in thys poynte, woulde face it and brace it and make a shewe of vpryght dealynge, when they be most gyltye, Neuerthelesse, thys But suche men carrye pryde in their bosomes that accuseth them. Samuel would not be partaker of his sonnes offences. they be most gyltye, Neuerthelesse, thys gere came out. Oh wycked sonnes, that brought both theyr father to depoficion and them selues to shame. When Samuel herde of theyr faut, he went not about to excuse theyr fautes. He would not beare wyth hys sonnes. He woulde not. *Communicare peccatis alienis.* Be partaker wyth his sonnes offences, he sayed. *Ego senui, ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.** As lone as he hearde of it, he delyuered hys sonnes to the people to be punyshed. He wente not aboute to excuse them, nor sayed not, thys is the fyrst tyne, beare wyth them, but presented theym by and by to the people sayinge: Loe here they be, take theym, do wyth theym accordynge to theyr desertes. Oh. I woulde ther were no more bearers of other mens synnes, then this good father Samuell was. I hearde of late of a notable bloudshed. *Audio sayeth* S. Paule and so do I. I know it not, but I heare of it. Ther was a searcher in london, which executynge his office displeased a marchaunt man, in so much that when he was doinge his office, they were at wordes, the marchant man threatned hym, the searcher sayed, the kyng shuld not lose hys custome. The marchant goes me home and sharpe[n]s his woodknife, and comes a gaine and knockes hym on ye head and killes him, thei yat told me yat tale sai it is winked at, thei loke thorow ther fyngers and wil not se it.

Weyther it be taken vp wyth a pardon or no I cannot tel, but this I am sure, and yf ye beare wyth such matters the zeuil shal bear you awai to hel. Bloudshed and murder would haue no bearing. It is a heinous thyng

Ye but it were better to go to God then to be borne to the deuill.

* I am old and grayheaded; and, 'behold, my sons are with you.—1 Sam. xii. 2.

bloudshedynge and especially voluntary murder and prepenſed murder. For in Numerye God ſayeth it poluteth the whole realme. *Polluitur illa terra, etc. et non poteſt expiari ſine ſanguine.** The lande cannot be purged nor clenſed agayne tyl his bloud be ſhed that ſhed it. It is the offyce of kyng to ſe ſuch murders puniſhed with death. *Non fruſtra geſtat gladium.†* What wyl ye make of a kyng? He beareth a ſwerde before hym, not a Pecokes fether. I go not a bout to ſtyrre you nowe to crudelitye, but I ſpeake agaynſte bearynge of bloudſhed. Thys bearyng muſte be loked vpon. In certayne cauſes of murther ſuch great circumſtaunces may be, that the kyng may pardon a murther. But if I were worthye to be of counſaylle, or if I were asked myne aduiſe, I wolde not haue the kyng to pardon a voluntarye murther, a prepenſed murther.

Bloudſhedynge and prepenſed murder would not be borne with all.

The kyng beareth a ſwerd before him and not a Pecokes fether.

I can tell where one man ſlew an other, in a tounſhyp, and was attached vpon the ſame. xii. men were impaneled, the man hadde frendes, the Shryue laboured the bench, the. xii. men ſtacke at it and ſayed, excepte he woulde diſburſe. xii. crownes they woulde fynde hym gyltye.

Meanes were found that the xii. crownes was payed. The queſt commes in and ſayes not gyltye.

Here was a not gyltye for xii. crownes. This is bearyng, And ſome of the bench were hanged, they were wel ſerued. This makes men bolde to do murder and ſlaughter. We ſhoulde reſerue murderynge tyll we come to oure ennemyes, and the Kyng bydde vs fight. He that wolde be ſturte him than, were a preti felow in dede. Crownes?

If they crownes were ſhauen to the ſhoulders they were ſerued well inoughe. I knew where a womanne was got wyth chylde, and was a ſhamed at the matter, and wente into a ſecrete place, where ſhe hadde no

* For blood it deſileth the land : the blood of him that ſhed it.—Numb. xxxv. 33.
The land cannot be clenſed of the blood that is ſhed therein, but by † He beareth not the ſword in vain.—Rom. xiii. 4.

women at her trauail and was deliuered of thre chyldren at a byrthe.

She wrounge theyr neckes and caste theym into a water, and so kylde her chyldren. Sodaynelye, she was gaunte agayne, and her neyghboures suspecyng the matter caused her to be examened, and she graunted all. Afterwarde she was rayned at the barre for it, and dyspatched and founde not giltye, throughe bearynge of friendes and brybynge of the iudge.

Where at the same sessyons, another poore womanne was hanged for stealyng a fewe ragges of a hedg, that were not worthe a crowne.

There was a certayne gentleman a professour of the word of God (he spedde neuer the better for that ye maye be sure) whoo was accused of murtheryng of a manne, where vppon he was cast into pryson. And by chaunce as he was in pryson one of hys frendes came vnto hym for to visite hym, and he declared to hys frende that he was neuer gilty in the murtheringe of the man. So he wente hys wayes, the gentle man was arayned and condempned, and as he wente to hys execution, he sawe hys frendes seruante, and said vnto him. Commende me to thy master, and I pray the tel hym, I am the same man styl I was when he was wyth me.

And if thou tary a whyle, thou shalt se me dye. There was sute made for thys mannes pardon, but it coulede not be gotten. Belike the Shriues or some other bare hym no good wyll. But he dyed for it. And afterwarde I beyng in the Tower, hauynge leaue to come to the Lieuetenauntes table, I hearde hym saye that ther was a man hanged afterwarde, that kylled the same manne for whome this Gentyelman was put to death. O Lord what bearyng what bolstering of naughtye matters is thys in a Chrystianrealme? I desyre youre Maiestye to remedye the matter, and God graunt you to se redres in this realme in your owne person.

An euyll
Shryue may
do somewhat
for hys frend
in a Shyre, he
may helpe to
hange vp the
gylties.

An Apostro-
phe to the
kyng for re-
dresse of lear-
nyng and bol-

Althoughe my Lord Protector I doubt not and the reste of the counsaile do in the

meane whyle all that lyeth in them to redresse things. I would such as be rulers, noble men and maisters shold be at thys poynt with theyr seruantes to certify them on thys fort. If anye man go about to do you wrong I wyl do mi best to helpe you in your right. But if thou breke the law thou shalte haue iustice. If ye wyll be manquellers, murderers, and traunsgressours, loke for no bearynge at my handes. A straunge thyng. What nede wee in the vengeance to burden our selues wyth other mennes synnes? Haue we not synnes inowe of oure owne? What neade haue I to burden my selfe wyth other mennes synnes? I haue burdens and. ii. heapes of synnes. One hepe of knowen synnes, an other of vnknown synnes. I had nede to say. *Ab occultis meis munda me domine** O Lord deliuer me from mi hidden and my vnknowe[n] synnes.

steryng of
naughty mat
ters.

A Godly ad-
uerttsemente
for noble men
and masters
but I feare
me it is to
Godly to be
followed.

Then if I beare with other mennes synnes, I muste saye Deliuer me frome my other mennes synnes. A straung sayinge, from my other mens synnes. Who beareth wyth other folkes offences, he communicateth wyth other folkes synnes. Men haue synnes inough of their owne, althoughe they beare not and bolster vp other men in their naughtines, thys bearynge, this bolsteryng and loking thorowe their fingers: is naught. What the fayr happe should I (or any else) encrease my burden. Myne other mens synnes forgyue me O Lord.

A straunge language they haue hyd syns of theyr owne inough althoughe they beare not wyth gyltines of other mens synnes.

Oh father Samuell would not beare hys owne sonnes. He offered hys owne sonnes to punyshment. And sayd. *Ecce filii mei vobiscum sunt.*† Euen at the fyrste tyme he sayed. Lo, here they be, I discharge my selfe, take them vnto you, and as for my parte.

Presto sum loqui coram domino et Christo eius.‡ I am

* Cleanse thou me from secret faults.—Psa. xix 12.

† Behold, my sons are with you.—1 Sam. xii 2

‡ Behold, here I am; witness against me before the LORD, and before his anointed: whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken?

here ready to answere for my selfe, before the Lord and hys anointed. Behold here I am, record of me before the Lorde. *Vtrum cuiusquam bouem. etc.* Whether I haue taken any mans oxe, ani mans asse, or whether I haue done any man wronge, or hurte anye man, or taken any bribes at anye mans hande I canne commende the Englysh translation that doth interprete *munera* bribes, not gyftes. They answered, naye forsooth. We knowe no such thinges in you. *Testis est mihi deus,** saith he, God is witnes, *Quod nihil inueneritis in manu mea.** That you haue found nought in my handes. Fewe suche Samuels are in Englande nor in the world.

Why dyd Samuell thys? marye to purge hym selfe, he was enforced to it, for he was wrongfullye depofed.

Then bi this ye mai perceiue the fault of the Iewes, for they offended not God in askynge for a kinge but for asking for a kinge to the wrongyng and depoficion of good father Samuel. If after Samuels death the people had asked of God a kyng they hadde not faulted, but it is no smale faut to put an innocent out of his office. Kyng Dauid likewyse commaunded hys people to be numbred, and therewyth offended God greuously. Why? might he not knowe the numbre of hys people? Yes, it was not the numbringe of the people that offended God, for a king may numbre hys people, but he dyd it of a pride of an elation of mynd, not according to Gods ordinaunce, but as hauinge a trust in the numbre of hys men, thys offended God.

Lykewise the Iewes asked a kyng, and therewyth they offended not God. But they asked hym with suche cyrcumstaunces, that God was offended wyth them.

It is no smale faute to putte a iuste man oute of hys office, and to depofe hym vnworthely.

or whom have I defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received *any* bribe to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will reprove it you —1 Sam. xii. 3.

* And they said, Thou hast not defrauded us, nor cpressed us, neither

hast thou taken ought of any man's hand.

† And he said unto them, the Lord is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they answered, *He is witness.* —1 Sam. xii. 4, 5.

To chose a Kynge contraryinge the ordinaunce of God is a castyng away of God and not of a kyng.

Therefore doubt not, but the tytle of a kynge, is a lawefull thyng, is a lawefull tytle, as of other maiestates. Onelye let ye kings take hede that thei do as it becometh Kynges to do, that thei do their office wel. It is a great thing, a chargeable thyng. Let them beware that they do not. *Communicare peccatis alienis.**

That they beare not wyth other mens faultes for they shal geue a straye accounte for all that perissheth, thorowe theyr negligence. We perceyue nowe what thys texte meaneth.

It is wrytten in the laste of Iudicum. *In diebus illis non erat rex in Israel.†* In those dayes there was no kynge in Israel euerye manne dyd that whyche semed ryght in hys owne eyes. Men were then allowed to do what they woulde. When men maye be alowed to do what they wyl, then is it as good to haue no king at al. Here is a wonderfull mater, that vnpreching prelates shuld be suffered so long. They can alledge for them selues. vii C. [seven hundred] yeaeres. Thys whyle the Realme had bene as good to haue no kyng, likewise these brybing iudges hathe bene suffered of a long tyme, and then it was, *Quasi non fuisset rex in anglia.* To suffer this is asmuch to say, There is no king in England, it is the dutye of a kynge to haue al states set in order to do their office. I haue troubled you to long. I wil make an end bresfly. *Beati qui audiunt verbum.‡* Blessed be thei yat hear the word of god, but so that thei folowe it, and kepe it in credite, in memori, not to deprauie it and slaunder it, and bring the preachers out of credite, but that folowe it in

theyr life, and liue after it. He

graunt you al that blessing

that made both you

and me. A-

men.

* Neither be partaker of other men's sins. - 1 Tim. v. 22.

† In those days there was no king in Israel. - Judg. xxi. 25.

‡ Luke xi. 28.

A The sixte

Sermon of Master Hughe

Latimer, whgh he preached be-
fore the kynges Maiesty togh
in hys Graues Palaie at
Westminster the
xii. daye of
Aprill.



*Vacunque scripta sunt ad nostram
doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thinges
that are written, they are written, to
be our doctrine. What doctrine is
written for vs in the. viii, Chapter
of the fyrst boke, of the kynges, I
dyd partely shewe vnto you (most
honorable audience) this day sen-

night, of that good man father Samuell, ye good iudge
howe good a man he was, what helpers and coadiutours,
he toke vnto him, to haue hys offyce well discharged.
I tolde you also of the wyckednes of hys sonnes, howe
they toke bribes, and lyued wyckedlye, and by that
meanes, brought both theyr father, and them selues to
deposition. And howe the people dyd offende Gode in
asking a Kynge in father Samuells tyme. And howe
father Samuel was put from his offyce, who deserued
it not. I opened to you also, howe father Samuel
cleares hym selfe, that he know not ye fauts of his
sonnes he was no bearer with his sonnes he was sory
for it, when he herde it, but he wold not beare with
them in their wickednes. *Filii mei vobiscum sunt.†* my
sons are with you faith he. Do wyth theym accordynge
to theyr desertes, I wyl not maintayne them, nor beare
with them. After that he cleares him self at the
kinges fete, that the people had nothinge to burthen

* Rom. xv. 4.

† 1 Sam. xii. 8.

hym with al, neyther money, nor money worth. In treatinge of that part, I chaunced to shewe you, what I heard of a man that was slayne, and I heare saye it was not well taken.

Forsoth I entend not to empayre anye mannes estimation or honestye, and they that enforce it to that, enforce it not to my meanyng. I sayd I heard, but of fuche a thyng, and toke occasion by that, that I heard, to speake agaynste the thyng, that I knewe to be noughte, that no man should beare with any man to the mayntenaunce of voluntary and prepenfed murder. And I here saye fynes, the man was otherwise an honest man, and they that spake for hym, are honest men. I am inclinable inoughe to credyte it. I spoke not by cause I woulde haue anye mannes honestye impayred. Onelye I dyd as Saynct. Paule dyd, who hearynge, of the Corinthyans, that there shoulde be contencions and myfordre among them, dyd wryte vnto theym that he harde, and there vpon by occasion of hearynge he set furth verye holsome doctryne of the supper of the Lorde. We might not haue lacked that doctryne I tel you. Be it so the Corinthians had no fuche contencions among them, as Paule wrote of, Be it so, they had not misfordred them selues, it was neyther of nor on, to that that Paule sayed. The matter laye in that, that vpon hearynge he would take occasion to set out the good and true doctrine. So I did not affirme it to be true yat I hard. I spake it to aduertise you, to beware of bearinge, wyth wyful and prepenfed murder. I wold haue nothing enforced against any man. This was myne entent and meanyng. I do not knowe, what ye call chaunce medly in the lawe, it is not for my studye. I am a scholer in scripture in gods boke, I study that I knowe what voluntary murder is before God. If I shall fal out wyth a man. He is angrye wyth me, and I wyth hym, and lackynge oportunitie and place, we shall put it of for that tyme, in the meane season I prepare my wepon, and sharpe

it agaynste a nother tyme, I swell and boyle in thys passion towards hym. I feke hym, we medle together, it is my chaunce by reason my weapon is better then his, and so furth, to kyl him, I geue hym his dethes stroke, in my vengeaunce and anger.

Thys call I voluntarye murder in scripture, what it is in the lawe I can not tell. It is a greate synne, and therefore I call it voluntarye. I remember what a greate Clarke wrytteth of thys.

Omne peccatum adeo est Voluntarium ut nisi sit voluntarium non sit peccatum.

Euerye synne (sayeth he) is so voluntarye, that if it be not voluntarye, it can not be called synne. Synne is no actuall synne, if it be not voluntarye. I would we woulde all knowe oure faultes and repente, that that is done, is done, it can not be called backe agayne. God is mercifull, the Kynge is mercitull, heare we maye repente, thys is the place of repentaunce. When we are gone hence, it is to late then to repent. And let vs be content wyth such order as the magystrates shall take. But fuer it is a perillous thing to beare wyth anye suche matter. I toulde you what I hard saye, I woulde haue no mans honestye empayred by me tellynge. I harde saye syns of a nother murder, that a Spanyarde shoulde kyl an Englishman, and ronne hym thorowe wyth hys swerde: they saye he was a tall man. But I here it not that the Spanyarde was hanged for hys laboure. If I had, I woulde haue tould you it to. They fell out, as the tale goeth, about a whore. O Lord what whordom is vsed nowe a dayes. As I here by the relacion of honeste men, whyche tell it not after a worldye forte, as thoughe they reioysed at it, but heuely, wyth heuy hertes, howe God is dyshonored by whoredome in thys cytie of London. Yea the bancke, when it stode, was neuer so commune. If it be true that is toulde, it is maruayle yat it doeth not sincke, and that the earth gapeth not and swalloweth it vp. It is wonderfull that the cytie of London doeth suffer

such whordom vnpunished. God hath suffered long of hys great lenitie, mercye, and benyngnitye, but he wyl punishe sharply at length, if we do not repente. There is sum place in London, as they saye, *immune, impunitie*. What should I call it? a preueledged place for whoredome. The Lorde Mayer hath nothyng to do there, the Sheriffes, thei can not medle wyth it. And the queste, they not enquire of it, and there men do brynge theyr whores, yea other mennes wyues, and there is no reformation of it.

There is suche dysynge howses also, they saye, as hath not bene wonte to be, where yong Gentlemenne dysse away their thrifte, and where dysynge is, there are other folyes also.

For the loue of God lette remedye be hadde, lette vs wrestle and stryue agaynste synne?

Menne of Englande in tymes paste, when they woulde exerceyse theym selues (for we must nedes haue some recreation, oure bodyescanne not endure wythoute some exerceyse) they were wonte to goo a brode in the fyeldes a shootynge, but nowe is turned in to glossyng, gullyng, and whoring wythin the housse.

The arte of shutyng hath ben in tymes past much esteemed in this realme, it is a gyft of God that he hath geuen vs to excell all other nacions wyth all. It hath bene goddes instrumente, whereby he hath gyuen vs manye victories agaynste oure enemyes. But nowe we haue taken vp horynge in tounes, in steede of shutyng in the fyeldes. A wonderous thyng, that so excellent a gift of God shoulde be so lytle esteemed. I desyer you my Lordes, euen as ye loue the honoure, and glory of God, and entende to remoue his indignacion, let ther be sente fourth some proclimacion, some sharpe proclimacion to the iustices of peace, for they do not their dutye. Iustices now be no iustices, ther be manye good actes made for thys matter already. Charge them vpon their allegi-
aunce yat this singular benefit of God maye be practised, and that it be not turned into bollyng,

glossyng and whoryng wythin the townes, for they be negligente in executyng these lawes of shuting. In my tyme, my poore father, was as diligent to teach me to shote, as to learne anye other thyng, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taughte me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe wyth strength of armes as other nacions do, but with strength of the bodye I had my bowes boughte me accordyng to my age and strength as I encreased in them, so my bowes were made bigger, and bigger, for men shal neuer shot well, excepte they be broughte vp in it. It is a goodly art, a holsome kynde of exercise, and much commended in phisike. Marcilius Sicinus in hys boke *de triplici uita* (it is a greate while sins I red hym now) but I remembre he commendeth this kinde of exercise, and sayth, that it wrestleth agaynst manye kyndes of diseases. In the reuerence of God, let it be continued. Let a Proclamation go furth, charynge the Iustices of Peace, yat they se fuche Actes and statutes kept, as were made for this purpose. I wyl to my matter. I entend this day to entreate of a pece of scripture, written in the begynnyng of the. v. Chapter of Luke. I am occasioned to take thys place by a boke sent, to the Kynges May[estie] that deade is, by Mayster Poel. It is a texte, that he doeth greatlye abuse, for the supremitye. He rackes it, and vyolentes it, to serue for the mayntenaunce of the byshop of Rome. And as he did enforce the tother place, that I entreated of last, so dyd he inforce thys also, to serue hys matter. The storye is thys.

Our Sauoure Christe was come now to the bancke of the water of Genezareth.

The people were come to hym and flocked aboute hym to here hym preache.

And Iesus toke a boote that was standyng at the poole, it was symonnes bote, and wente into it. And sittynge in the bote, he preached to them that were on the bancke. And whan he had preached and taught

them, he spake to Simon and bade hym launch out fourther into the depe, and lose hys nettes, to catche fysh. And Symon made aunswere, and sayed. Mayster, we haue labored all nyght, but we caught nothing howe be it at thy commaundement because thou byddest vs, we wyll go to it agayne. And so they dyd, and caught a greate draught, a miraculus draught so much that the net bracke, and they called to theyr fellowes that were bye, for they had. ii. botes to come to healpe them, and they came and filled both theyr botes so full, that they were nygh drounyng.* Thys is the storye: That I maye declare thys texte so, that it may be to the honoure of God and edificacion of youre soules and myne boeth. I shall desier you to healpe me wyth your prayer in the whiche. etc.

Factum est autem. (Sayth the text) *cum turba irrueret in eum.** Sayncte Luke telles the storye, and it came to passe, when the people presed vpon him, so that he was in perill to be cast into the pond they rushed so faste vpon hym and made such throng to him. A wonderous thyng, what a desyre the people had in those dayes to heare oure sauioure Christe preache, and the cause may be gathered of the latter end of the Chapter that went before. Oure Sauioure Christ had preached vnto them, and healed the fycke folkes of suche diseases and maladies as they had and therefore the people woulde haue retayned hym styll. But he made them aunswere, and sayed.

* And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,

And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing *their* nets.

And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship

Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon, Launch out into

the deep, and let down your nets for a draught.

And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

And they beckoned unto *their* partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them. And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink. —Luka v. 1—7.

*Et aliis ciuitatibus oportet me euangelizare regnum dei, nam in hoc missus sum.** I must preache the kynge-dome of god to other cyties also, I muste shewe them my fathers wyll: for I came for that purpose. I was sente to preache the worde of God. Our Sauoure Christ sayed, howe he muste not tarye in one place, for he was sent to the worlde to preache euerye where. Is it not a meruaylous thyng, that oure vnpreaching prelates can read thys place, and yet preach no more then they do. I maruayle, that they can go quyetlye to bed, and se how he allureth them with hys example, to be diligente in theyr, office. Here is a godly lesson also howe oure Sauoure Christe fled from glory. Yf these ambiciouse parsons, that climbe to honoure by bywal[k]es inordinatly, would consider this example of Iesus christ, they shold come to more honour then they do: for when thei seke honour by such bywalkes, thei come to confucion honour foloweth them yat fle from it. Our sauour Christ, gat hym a waye erlye in the mornynge, and went vnto the wildernes. I woulde they woulde folowe thys example of Christe, and not seke honoure by suche by walkes as they do. But what dyd the people? when he had hyd hym selfe, they smelled him out in the Wyldernes, and came vnto him, by flockes, and folowed hym a greate nombre. But where reade you that a greate number of scribes and Pharises, and Byshoppes followed hym. There is a doctour that wryteth of thys pla[c]e, his name is Doctoure Gorrham, Nycolas Corrhame, I knewe hym to be a schoole Doctoure a greate while ago, but I neuer knewe hym to be an enterpreter of scripture til nowe of late: he sayeth thus, *maior deuocio in laicis Vetulis quam in clericis, etc.* There is more deuocion sayeth he, in laye folke, and olde Wyues, These symple folke, the vulger people, then in the clarkes, they be better affecte to the worde of God, then those, that be of the cleargye. I maruayle not

* And he said unto them, I must cities also: for therefore am I sent.--
preach the kingdom of God to other Luke iv. 43.

at the sentence, but I maruayle to fynd such a sentence in such a doctour. Yf I shoulde saye so much, it would be sayed to me, that it is an euyl byrd that defiles hys owne nest, and *Nemo læditur nisi a seipso*. There is no man hurte, but of hys owne selfe. There was veryfied the sayinge of oure Sauoure Christe Whiche he spake in an other place. *Vbicunque fuerit cadauer, ibi congregabuntur aquilæ*.^{*} Wherefoeuer a deade carion is, thither wyl ye [a]gles gather. Our sauour christ compares hymselfe to a deade carrion, for where the carrion is, there wyl the Egles be, and though it be an euyl smel to vs. and stynckes in a mans noose yet it is a swete smell to the Egles, they wyl seke it out. So the people sought oute Chryst, they smelt hys fauour, he was a swete smell to them. He is *Odor uitæ ad uitam*,[†] the smel of life to life. Thei flocket about him lyke Egles. Christ was the carrion, and the people were the Egles.

Thei had no pleasure to heare the Scribes and the Pharises thei stancke in their nose, their doctrine was vnflauery, it was but of Lolions, of decimations of Anets seade, and Cummyng and suche gere. There was no comfort in it for soore consciences, there was no consolation for wounded soules, there was no remedye for synnes, as was in Christes doctrine. Hys doctrine eased the burden of the soule, it was swete to the common people, and sower to ye Scribes. It was such comforte and pleasure to them, that thei came flockyng aboute hym. Wherefore came thei? *Vt audirent uerbum dei*,[‡] it was a good commyng. They came to heare the word of God. It was not to be thought that they came all of one mynde to here the worde of GOD. It is lykely yat in so grat a multitude, some came of curiositie, to here some nouelles, and from cam smelling a swete fauour, to haue consolation and comfort of Gods word for we cannot be saued

^{*} For wheresoeuer the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together.—Matt. xxiv, 28,

[†] The savour of life unto life — 2 Cor. ii. 16.

[‡] To hear the word of God.—Luke 7. 1: see text at p. 163.

without heringe of the worde. It is a necessarye waye to saluation.

We can not be saued wythout fayeth, and fayth commeth by hearynge of the worde. *Fides ex auditu.** And howe shal they heare wythout a preacher? I tel you it is the fotesteppes of the ladder of heauen, of oure saluacion. There must be preachers if we loke to be saued. I toulde you of thys gradacion before in the tenth to the Romaynes. Consider it well. I had rather ye shoulde come of a naughtye mynde, to heare the worde of God, for noueltye, or for curiosite to heare some pastime, then to be awaye. I had rather ye shoulde come as the tale is by the Gentelwoman of London one of her neyghbours mette her in the streate, and sayed mestres whether go ye, Mary sayed she, I am goynge to S. Tomas of Acres to the sermon, I coulde not slepe al thys laste nyght, and I am goynge now thether, I neuer sayled of a good nap there, and so I had rather ye should go a napping to the sermons, than not to go at al. For with what mind so euer ye come, thoughe ye come for an ill purpose, yet peraduenture ye maye chaunce to be caught or ye go, the preacher maye chaunce to catche you on hys hoke. Rather then ye should not come at al, I would haue you come of curiositie, as Sayncte Augu-tyne came to heare Saint Ambrose. When Sayncte Augu-tyne came to Myllane, (he telles the storye hymselfe in the ende of his boke of confessions) he was very desirous to here S Ambrose, not for anye loue he had to the doctrine yat he taughte, but to here his eloquence, whether it was so greate, as the speache was, and as the brute went. Wel, before he departed Sayncte ambrose caught hym on hys hoke and conuerted hym so, that he became of a Maniche, and of a platoniste a good christian, a defender of christes religion, and of the fayeth afterwarde. So I woulde haue you come to sermons. It is declared in many mo places of scripture, howe necessarye preachynge is, as thys. *Euangelium*

* Faith cometh by hearyng — Rom. x. 17.

*est potentia dei, ad salutem omni credenti.** The preachinge of the Gospell, is the power of god to euery man that doth beleue. He meanes gods word opened, It is ye instrument, and the thing wherby we are saued. Beware beware ye diminishe not thys office, for if ye do, ye decaie goddes power to al that do beleue. Christe sayeth consonaunte to the same. *Nisi quis renatus fuerit e supernis, non potest uidere regnum dei.†*

Except a man be borne a gayne from a boue, he can not se the kyngdome of God. He muste haue a regeneration: and what is this regeneration? It is not to be Christened in water (as these fyre brandes expound it) and nothyng elles. Howe is it to be expounded then? saynct. Peter sheweth. That one place of Scripture declareth another. It is the circumstance, and collacion of places that make scripture playne. *Regeneramur autem †* (sayeth Sayncte Peter) and we be borne a gayne. Howe? *Non ex semine mortali, sed immortali.‡* Not by a mortall seade, but by an immortall. What is this immortall seade? *per sermonem dei uiuentis.†* By the word of the liuyng God, by the worde of God preached and opened. Thus commeth in oure newe byrth. Here you maye se how necessarye thys offyce is to oure saluacion This is the thyng that the deuill wrastleth most agaynste, it hath bene all hys studye to decaye thys office, he worketh agaynste it as muche as he can, he hath preuailed to much, to much in it. He hath set vppe a state of vnpreachynge prelacye in this Realme this. vii. c. [seven hundred] yere, A state of vnpreachynge prelacy He hath made vnpreachynge prelates. He hath styrred vp by heapes to persecute thys office in ye title of heresy he hath sturred vppe the Magistrates to persecute it in the title of sedicion. And he hath stirred vp the people to persecute it wyth exprobacions and flaun-

* The gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.—Rom. i. 16.

† Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God.—John iii. 3.

‡ Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.—1 Pet. i. 23.

derous wordes, as by the name of newe learnynge straunge preachyng and wyth impropriacions he hath turned preachynge in to priuate Masses. If a prieste shoulde haue left Masse vndon On a sonday within these ten yeres, all En[g]lande shoulde haue wondered at it, but they might haue left of the sermon. xx. sondayes and neuer haue ben blamed. And thus by these impropriacions priuate Masses were set vp, and preachynge of gods worde troden vnder foote. But what doth he now? what doeth he now? he sterres men vp to outragious rearyng of rentes, that pore men shal not be able to fynd their children at the schole to be diuines. What an vnreasonable deuill is thys? he provides a grate while before hand for the time that is to come. He hath broughte vp nowe of late the most monstrouse kynde of couetousnes that euer was hearde of. He hath inuented fee fermynge of benefices, and al to decaye thys office of preachynge, in so much that when any man heare after shall haue a benefice, he maye go where he wyll for any house he shall haue to dwell vpon, or any glebe lande to kepe hospitalitie withal, but he must take vp a chamber in an Alehouse and there sit and plaie at ye tables all the day. A goodlye curate. He hath caused also through this monstrous kinde of couetousnes, patrons to sel theyr benefices. Yea what doth he more? He gettes him to the vniuersitie, and causeth great men and squiers to send theyr sonnes thither, and put out pore scholars yat should be diuines: for theyr parentes entend not they shall be preachers, but yat they may haue a shewe of lerninge. Tut, it were to long to declare vnto you what descent and meanes ye diuel hath found to decaie ye office of saluacion, this office of regeneration. But to return to my matter. The people came to here ye word of god, thei hard him with silence I remember nowe a saying of Sayncte Chrysostome, and peradventure it myght come here after in better place, but yet I wyll take it, whiles it commeth to my mind. The

faying is this. *Et loquentem eum audierunt in silentio, seriem locutionis non interrumpentes.* They harde hym (sayeth he) in filence, not interruptynge the order of his preachinge. He meanes they hard hym quietly, with out any shouelynge of feete, or walkynge vp and downe. Suerly it is an yl myforder, that folke shalbe walkynge vp and downe in the sermon tyme (as I haue sene in this place thys Lente) and there shalbe suche buffynge and buffynge in the preachers eare, that it, maketh hym often tymes to forget hys matter. O let vs consider the Kynges Maiestyes goodnes, Thys place was prepared for banketynge of the bodye, and hys Maiestye hath made it a place for the comforte of the soule, and to haue the worde of God preached in it, shewynge hereby that he would haue all hys subiectes at it, if it myghte be possible. Consider what the Kynges Maiestye hath done for you, he alloweth you all to heare wyth him. Consider where ye be, fyrst ye ought to haue a reuerence to Godds word, and thoughe it be preached by pore men, yet it is the same worde that oure Sauoure spake.

Consider also the prefence of the Kynges Maiestie Gods highe vycare in earth, hauyng a respect to his personag, ye ought to haue reuerence to it, and consider that he is goddes hyghe minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of ye heryng of gods word. This benefit of his would be thankfully taken, and it would be highly esteemed. Hear in filence, as Chrysostom sayeth. It maye chaunce that fume in the companye may fall sicke, or be diseased, if therebe any suche, let them go away, with filence, let them leaue their salutacions tyll they come in the courte, let them departe with filence. I toke occasion of Chrysostomes wordes to admonysh you of thys thyng. What shold be ye cause, that our Sauoure Christe wente into the bote? the scripture calleth it *Nauis or nauicula*. But it was no ship. it was a fishers bote, thei were not able to haue a ship. What shoulde be the cause, why he

would not stand on the banke and preach ther, but he desired Peter to drawe ye bote some what from ye shore into ye middes of the water. What shold be ye cause? What shold be the cause? One cause was, for that he might sit their more commodiously, then on ye banke, an other cause was, for yat he was like to be thrust into ye pond of ye peple yat came vnto him. Whi? our sauour Christ might haue with stode them, he was strong inough to haue kept hymselfe from thrusting into the water. He was stronger, then they al, and if he had listid he myght haue stode on the water, as wel as he walked on the water, truth it is, so might he haue done in dede. But as it was some tyme hys pleasure to shewe the poore of hys Godheade, so he declared nowe the infirmitie and imbecilitye of hys manheade. Heare he geueth vs an example what we shall do, we must not tempt God by any miracles, so long as we may walke by ordinary wayes. As oure Sauoure Christ when the diuel hadde hym on the top of the temple, and wold haue had hym caste hym selfe doune, he made hym this aunswere. *Non tentabis dominum deum tuum.** 'Thou shalt not tempt thy lord God, as if he shoulde haue sayed. We maye not tempte God at all, it is no tyme nowe to shewe any miracles, ther is an other way to go doune, by greffinges. Thus he dyd to shewe vs an example, that we muste not tempte God, except it be in extreme necessitye, and when we cannot other wayes remedy the matter to leaue it all to God, elles we maye not tempt the maiestye of his deyte. Beware temptynge of God? wel, he commes to Simons bote, and why rather to Simons bote then an other. I wyl aunswere, as I finde in experience in my selfe. I came hither to day from Lambeth in a whirry and when I came to take my bote, the water men came about me, as the maner is, and he wold haue me, and he wold haue me. I toke one of them. Nowe ye wyll aske me

* Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.—Matt. iv. 7.

why I came in yat bote, rather then in another, because I woulde go into that that I se stande nexte me, it stode more commodioulye for me. And so dyd Christe by Simons bote. It stode nerer for him, he sawe a better seate in it. A good natural reason. Nowe come the papistes, and they wyll make a misterie of it, they wyll pyke out the supremesye of the Bishop of Rome in Peters bote. We maye make allegories inoughe of euerye place in scripture, but suerli, it must nedes be a symple matter that standes on so weke a grounde. But ye shall se further. He desired Peter to thruste out hys bote from the shore. He desired hym. Heare was a good lesson for the Bishop of Rome, and al hys colledge of Cardinales to learne humilitey and gentelnes. *Rogabat eum.** He desired hym, it was gently done of hym, with out any austeritie, but wyth al vrbانيتie, myldnes, and softnes and humilitey. What an example is thys, that he giues them heare? but they spie it not, they can se nothyng but the supremesye of the Byshop of Rome. A wondrous thyngewhat fyghte they haue. They se nothyng but the supremesye of the Byshop of Rome. *Imperabatis ouibus meis, sayeth Ezechiell, cum auaricia, et austeritate, et dispersæ sunt absque pastore.†*

Ye haue ruled my shepe and commaunded them with greate lordlines, austeri[t]ye, and power, and thus ye haue disperfed my shepe a brode, and why? Ther was no shephard, they had wanted one a great while. Rome hath bene many hundred yeres without a good shepard. They would not lerne to rule them gently, they had rule ouer them, but it was with cursings excommunicacions, with great austerite, and thunderboltes, and the diuel and al, to mayntaine their vnpreachyng prelacye. I beseeche God open their eyes, yat they maye se the trueth, and not be blinded with those thynges, that no man can se but they. It foloweth in the texte. *Sedens docebit de nauis.‡* He taught sitting.

* He prayed him.—Luke v. 3.

† With force and with cruelty have ye ruled them, And they were

scattered, because there is no shephard.—Ezek. xxxiv. 4, 5.

‡ [He] taught the people out of the ship.—Luke v. 3.

Preachers be lyke, were sitters in those daies, as it is written in a nother place. *Sedent in cathedra moisu.** They sette in the chayer of Moses.

I woulde oure preachers woulde preache sittynge, or standynge, one waye, or other. It was a godly pulpit that our Sauour Christ hadde gotten hym here. An olde rotten bote. And yet he preached hys fathers wyll, hys fathers message out of thys pulpyt. He regarded the people more then ye pulpit. He cared not for the pulpit, so he myght do the people good. In dede it is to be commended for the preacher to stand, or sit, as the place is, but I would not haue it so superstitiously esteemed, but that a good preacher may declare ye word of god sitting on a horse, or preching in a tre. And yet if this shold be done, ye vnpreaching prelattes would laughe it to skorne.

And though it be good to haue the pulpit set vp in churches, that the people may resort thither, yet I woulde not haue it so superstitiously vsed, but that in a prophane place the worde of God might be preached some times, and I woulde not haue the people offended wyth all, no more, then they be with our Sauoure Christes preachyng out of a bote.

And yet to haue pulpetes in churches it is very well done to haue them, but they woulde be occupied, for it is a vayne thyng to haue them as they stand in many churches. I harde of a Byshop of Englande that wente on visitacion and (as it was the custome) when the Byshop shoulde come and be runge into the toun, the greate belles clapper was fallen doune, the tyall was broken, so that the Byshop coulde not be runge into the toun. Ther was a greate matter made of thys, and the chiefe of the paryshe were muche blamed for it in the visitacion. The Byshop was some what quicke wyth theym, and signified that he was muche offended. They made theyr aunsweres, and excused them selues, as wel as they coulde, it was a chaunce, sayd they, that ye clapper brake and we coulde not get it amended

* The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat.—Matt. xxiii. 2.

by and by, we must tarrye til we can haue done it. It shal be amended as shortelye as maye be. Amonge the other there was one wyser then the rest, and he commes me to the Bishop. Whi mi Lord, sayth he, doth your lordship mak so grat matter of the bell, that lacketh hys clapper? here is a bell, sayeth he, and poynted to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper thys. xx. yeres. We haue a parson, that setteth out of thys benefice fiftye poundes euerye yere, but we neuer se hym. I warrant you ye Byshop was an vnpreachyng prelate. He could fynde faute wyth the bel, that wanted a clapper, to ryng hym into the toun, but he could not fynd any fault wyth the parson that preached not at his benefice. Euer thys office of preachynge hath bene least regarded, it hath skante hadde the name of goddes seruyce. They must synge. *Salve festa dies* aboute the church, that no man was the better for it, but to shewe theyr gaie cotes, and garmentes. I came once my selfe to a place, ridyng on a iornay home warde from London, and I sente worde ouer nyghte into the toun that I would preach there in ye morninge because it was holy day, and me thought it was an holye dayes worcke, The church stode in my waye, and I toke my horse, and my companye, and went thither, I thoughte I shoulde haue founde a greate companye in the church, and when I came there, the church dore was faste locked.

I tarried there halfe an houer and more, at last the keye was founde, and one of the parishe commes to me and sayes. Syr thys is a busye daye wyth vs, we can not heare you, it is Robyn hoodes daye. The parishe are gone a brode to gather for Robyn hoode, I praye you let them not. I was sayne there to geue place to Robyn hoode, I thought my rochet shoulde haue bene regarded, thoughe I were not, but it woulde not serue, it was fayn to geue place to Robyn hoodesmen.

It is no laughynge matter my friendes, it is a wepyng matter, a heauy matter, a heauy matter, vnder the pretence for gatherynge for Robyn hoode, a tray-

toure, and a thefe, to put out a preacher, to haue hys office leffe eftemed, to prefer Robyn hod before the miniftracion of Gods word, and al thys hath come of vnpreachynge prelates. Thys Realme hath ben ilprouided for, that it hath had fuche corrupte iudgements in it, to prefer Robyn hode to goddes worde. Yf the Byshoppes had bene preachers, there shoulde neuer haue bene any fuche thyng, but we haue a good hope of better. We haue had a good begynnyng, I befech God to continewe it. But I tell you, it is farre wide, that the people haue fuche iudgements, the Byshoppes they coulde laughe at it. What was that to them? they woulde haue them continewe in their ignoraunce styll, and them felues in vnpreachyng prelacye. Wel, fyttynge, fyttynge. He fatte doune and taughte. The texte doeth tell vs that he taughte, but it doeth not tell vs what he taughte. If I were a papist I coulde tell what he fayed. I woulde in the Popes iudgemente shewe what he taught. For the Byshop of Rome hath in *scrinio pectoris fui*, the true vnderstandynge of Scriptures. Yf he cal a counsaile of colledge of Cardinales, he hath authoritye to determyne the supper of the Lorde, as he dyd at the counsaile of Florence.

And Pope Nicolas, and Byshoppe Langfrancke shal come and expounde thys place, and saye, that oure Sauoure Christe, fayed thus. Peter I do meane thys by fyttynge in thy bote that thou shalte goo to Rome, and be Byshoppe there fye and twentie yeares, after myne ascension. And all thy successours shal be rulers of ye vniuersal church after ye.

Heare woulde I place also holye water, and hollye breade, and all vnwrytten verytes, if I were a Papiste, and that Scripture is not to be expoundyd by anye priuate interpretacion, but by oure holye father, and hys colledge of Cardinales.

Thys is a greate dele a better place then. *duc in altum*.* But what was Christes sermon? it maye sone be gathered what it was. He is alwayes like him selfe.

* Launch out into the deep.—Lukes v, 4.

Hys fyrste Sermon was. *pænitentiam agite*, do pen-
naunce, your lyuynge is naught, repente. Agayne at
Nazareth, whan he redde in the temple and preached
remission of synnes, and healyng of woundyd con-
sciencs, and in the longe sermon in the mount, he
was alwayes lyke hymselfe, he neuer dissented from
hymselfe. O there is a writer hath a ioile text here,
and hys name is, Dionisious. I chaunced to mete
wyth hys boke in my Lorde of Caunterberyes librarye :
he was a Monke of the charterhouffe. I maruayle to
find such a sentence in that author. What taught
Christ in thys sermon? Mary sayeth he, it is not
written. And he addeth more vnto it. *Euangelistæ
tantum scripserunt de sermonibus et miraculis christi
quantum cognouerunt inspirante deo sufficere ad ædifica-
cionem ecclesiæ ad confirmationem fidei, et ad salutem
animarum.* It is true it is not wrytten. Al hys mira-
cles were not written, so neyther were al hys sermons
wrytten, yet for all that the euangelistes dyd wryte so
muche as was necessary. They wrote so muche
of the miracles and sermons of Christ as they
knewe by godes inspiracion to be sufficient for the
edifyng of the church, the confirmacion of oure
sayeth and the health of our soules. If thys be true
as it is in dede, where be written verities? I mer-
uayle not at the sentence but to fynde it in suche an
authour. Iesus what authoriti he gyues to goddes worde.
But GOD woulde that suche men shoulde be wytnesse
wyth the authoritye of his boke, wil thei nill they.

Nowe to drawe towards an ende. It foloweth in
the text *duc in altum*. Here comes in the supremitye
of the Byshoppe of Rome. Whan oure Sauoure
Christ had made an ende of hys sermon and had fed
their soules, he prouided for theyr boddies. Fyrst he
began wyth the soule. Christes worde is the fode of
it. Nowe he goth to the body, he hath charge of them
boeth, he gyueth fode for them boeth: we must commit
the fedyng of the body and of the soule to hym.

Well, he sayeth to Peter. *duc in altum*. Launche

in to the depth, put forth thy bote farther into the deepe of the water. Lose youre nettes, nowe fythe. As who shoulde saye, youre soules are now fedde, I haue taught you my doctrine, nowe I wyll confirme it wyth a miracle. Lo fyr here is *duc in altum*, Here Peter was made a greate man saye the Papistes, and all hys succeffours after hym. And thys is deriued of these fewe words. Launch into the deepe. And their argumente is thys: he spake to Peter onelye, and he spake to hym in the singlar number, ergo he gaue him such a preeminence aboue the rest. A goodly argument, I wene it be a sillogismus. *in quem terra pontus*. I will make a lyke argument, Oure Sauoure Christe sayed to Iudas, whan he was about to betraye hym *quod facis fac citius*.* Nowe whan he spake to Peter ther were none of his disciples by, but Iames and Iohn, but whan he spake to Iudas they were al present. Wel, he sayd vnto him, *quod facis fac citius*. Spede thy busines, yat thou hast in thy heade, do it. He gaue him here a secret monicion that he knewe what he intended, if Iudas had had grace to haue taken it and repented. He spake in the singlar number to him, ergo he gaue hym some preeminence. By like he made him a Cardinall, and it mighte ful wel be, for they haue folowed Iudas euer syns. Here is as good a grounde for the Coledge of Cardinales, as the other is for the supremitie of the Bishop of Rome. Oure Sauour Christ (say they) spake onely to Peter for preeminence, because he was chiefe of the Apostles, and you can shewe none other cause Ergo thys is the cause why he spake to hym in the singlar number. I dare saye there is neuer a whirriman at Westminster brydge, but he can answere to thys, and gyue a naturall reason for it.

He knoweth that one man is able to shoue the bote, but one man was not able to caste out the nettes, and therefore he sayed in the plural nomber. *laxate retia*: † Lose youre nettes? and he sayed in the singlar

* That thou doest, &c. quickly.—
John xiii. 27.

† Let down your nets.—Luke v. 4.

number to Peter, launch out the bote. why? because he was able to do it.

But he spake the other in the plural number, because he was not able to conuaye the bote, and cast out the nettes to. One man coulede not do it. Thys woulde the whirry man saye, and that wyth better reason, then to make such a misterie of it, as no man can spye but they. And the cause why he spake to all, was to shewe that he wyll haue all Christen men to worcke for theyr lyuyng. It is he that sendes foode both for the body, and soule, but he wyll not send it, wythout laboure, He wyll haue all Christen people to laboure for it, he wyll vse oure laboure as a meane whereby he sendeth oure foode. Thys was a wondrous myracle of our Sauoure Christe, and dyd it not onely to allure them to hys discipleshippe, but also for our commoditie. It was a seale, a seale to seale hys doctrine wythall. Nowe ye knowe that fuche as be keepers of seales, as my Lorde Chauncelour, and fuche other, what so euer they be, they do not all wayes seale, they haue a sealyng tyme. (For I haue harde poore men complaine, that thei haue bene put of from tyme to tyme of sealyng to another, tyll all theyr money were spent). And as they haue tymes to seale in, so oure Sauoure Christ had hys tyme of sealyng. When he was here in earth, wyth his Apostles, and in the tyme of the primitiue church, Christes doctrine was sufficientely sealed already wyth seales of hys owne makynge, what shoulde oure seales do? What nede we to seale his seale? it is a confirmed doctrine alredi. O Luther, when he came into that worlde fyrst, and disputed agaynst the decretales, the Clementines, Alexandrines, Estrauagantines, what a do had he. But ye wyll saye peraduenture he was deceyued in some thynges I wil not take vpon me to defend him in al pointes, I wil not stand to it, yat al that he wrot was true, I thinke he woulde not so hym selfe. For there is no man, but he maye erre. He came to further and further knowledge, (but suerly he was a goodli instrument). Wel I say, when he

preached fyrste they called vpon him to do myracles, thei were wrought before. And so we nede to do no miracl[e]s. In dede when the popish prelates preached fyrst, thei had nede of miracles, and the deuil wroughte some in the preachynge of purgatorye. But what kynde of miracles these were, all Englande doeth knowe, but it wil not knowe. A wounderfull thinge, that the people wyl contynewe in theyr blyndnes and ignoraunce stil. We haue greate vtilitie of the miracles of oure sauour Iesus Christe. He doth signifye vnto vs, by this wonderful worcke, yat he is Lord as wel of ye water as of the land. A good comfort for those yat be on ye water, when thei be in ani tempest, or daunger to call vpon him. The fishe here came at his commaundement. Here we maye learne that all thynges in the water are subiecte to Christe. Peter sayed. Syr, wee haue laboured all nighte, and haue not caught one fynne, howe be it at youre word we wyl to it a freshe. By this it appereth that ye gaine, the lucre, the reuenewes that we get, must not be imputed to oure labour, we maye not say, gramercy labour: it is not oure labour, it is our sauour Christ that sendeth vs liuyng, yet muste we laboure, for he that sayed to Peter labour, and he that bad the fyshers laboure, biddes all menne to laboure in theyr busines. There be some people that ascribe their gaynes, theyr encrease, gotten by anye facultye, to the deuil. Is ther any trowe ye in England would say so? Nowe if any man shoulde come to an other, and say he gat hys lyuynge by the dyuell, he would fall out wyth hym. There is not a man in Englande that so sayeth, yet is there some that thyncke it. For al yat get it with false biyng and sellyng, wyth circumuention, wyth vsury, impostures, mixte wares, false waightes, deceyuynge theyr Lordes and maisters, all those, that get theyr goodes on thys fashion, what do they thyncke, but that the deuil fendes them gaynes and ryches. For they be hys (beyng vnlawefully gotten). What is thys to say, but that the dyuell is author of theyr gaynes when they be so gotten? For God

inhabites them. *deus non uolens iniquitatem tu es.** God wylnoiniquitie. These folke are greatly deceiued. Ther be some againe impute al to their laboures and workes.

Yea, on the hollye day, they can not fynde in their hertes to come to the Temple, to the blessed communion, they must be working at home. These are wid againe on the other side. And some there be yat thinke, if they worke nothings at al, they shal haue inough, they wil haue no good exercise, but gape and thinke that god wil send meat into their mouthes, and these are as far wide: they muste worke, he bad the fishers worcke. Our Sauour Christ bad Peter worke, and he that sayed so to them, sayes the same to vs, euerye man in his arte. *benedictio dei facit diuitem.†*

The blessinge of God maketh a man ryche. He lettes hys sonne shyne vpon the wycked, aswell as vpon the good, he sendes ryches boeth to good and bad.

But thys blessinge turnes to them into a malediction and a curse, it encrefeth their damnacion. Sayncte Paulle wrytynge to the Thessalonians, dyd put an order howe euerye man shoulde worcke in hys vocation. *Cum essetis apud uos, hoc præcipiebamus uobis, ut si quis nollet operari, is nec edat.‡*

When I was amonge you (sayeth he) I made thys ordinaunce, that whosoever wold not do the worcke of hys vocation, shoulde haue no meate. It were a good ordinaunce in a common weale, that euerye man sholde be set on worke, euery man in hys vocation. Lette hym haue no mete. Nowe he sayeth furthermore. *Audiuimus quosdam inter uos uersantes inordinate, nihil operis facientes.§* I here saye, there is some amongest you, that lyues inordinatelye. What is that word inordinatelye? ydelye, gyuyng them selues to no occupacion for theyr lyuyng. *Curiose agentes.¶* Curiose men, gyuen to curiosite, to searchoyng what other men do. Saynct Paule sayeth, he harde saye, he

* And canst not look on iniquity.
—Hab. i. 13.

† The blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich.—Prov. x. 22.

‡ For even when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any

would not work, neither should he eat.—2 Thess. iii. 10.

§ For we hear that there are some which walk among you disorderly, working not at all, but are busy-bodies.—2 Thess. iii. 11.

could not tell whether it were so or no. But he toke occasion of hearynge saye, to sette out a good and holsome doctrine. *his autem qui sunt eiusmodi præcipimus, et obsecramus.**

We commaund and desier you for the reuerence of God, if ther be any suche, that they wyll do the worckes of their vocation, and go quietly to their occupation, and so eate theyr owne bread, ells it is not theyr owne, it is other mens meate. Oure Sauour Christ before he began hys preachynge, lyued of hys occupacion, he was a carpenter, and gat hys liuyng wyth greate laboure.

Therefore let no manne disdayne, or thincke skorne to folowe hym in a meane liuyng, a meane vocation, or a common callynge and occupacion. For as he blessed oure nature wyth takynge vpon hym the shape of man, so in hys doynge he blessed al occupacions and artes. This is a notable example to signify yat he abhorres al idlenes. When he was a Carpenter, then he went, and dyd the worke of hys callynge, and when he was a preacher he dyd the workes of that calling. He was no vnpreachyng prelate. The Byshoppe of Rome shoulde haue learned that at him. And these gayners with false artes what be they? They are neuer contente wyth that they haue, though it be neuer so muche. And they yat are true dealers, are satisfied with that god sendes, though it be neuer so litle *quæstus magnus pietas, cum animo sua forte contento.†* Godlines is great gayne.

It is lucre inoughe, it is vantage inoughe to be content with that, that God sendes. The sayethfull can not lacke, the vnfaythfull is euer lackynge, though he haue neuer so much. I wil nowe make an ende. *labores manuum tuarum.‡* Let vs al labour. Christe teacheth vs to labour, yea the Byshop of Rome hym selfe, he teacheth him to labour rather then to be

* Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work, and eat their own bread.—2 Thess. iii. 12.

† Godliness with contentment is great gain.—1 Tim. vi. 6.

‡ For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.—Psa. cxviii. 2.

hedde of the church. Let vs put our trust in God.
Labores manuum tuarum. Caste thy care vpon the
 Lord and he wyll nourishe the and fede the. Agayne
 the Prophet sayeth. *Numquam uidi iustum derelictum
 nec semen eius querens panem.**

I neuer sawe the ryghtuouse man forsaken, nor
 hys seede to seke his bread. It is infidelytye, infi-
 delitye, that marres all together.

Well to my texte. *labores manuum tuarum quia
 manducabis, beatus es et bene tibi erit etc.* Because
 thou eatest the labors of thy handes, that, yat God
 sendes the of thy laboure. Euery man must labour,
 yea though he be a Kynge yet he muste labour, for I
 knowe no man hath a greater laboure then a Kynge.
 What is his labour? To studye goddes boke, to see
 yat there be no vnpreachynge prelates in his realme,
 nor bribing Iudges, to se to all estates, to prouyde
 for the poore, to see vittailles good chepe. Is not
 this a labour trowe ye? thus if thou duste laboure,
 exercisyng the worckes of thy vocatyon, thou eatest
 the meate that god sendes the, and then it followeth.
Beatus es. Thou art a blessed manne in Goddes
 fauour. *Et bene tibi erit.* And it shall go well wyth
 the in this world, both in bodye and soule, for God
 prouides for both. Howe shalte thou prouyde for thy
 soule? go here Sermons. Howe for the boddy?
 labour in thy vocation, and then shall it be well wyth

the, bothe here and in the worlde to come

through the fayth and merites

of our sauour Iesus Chryst,

To whom with the father

and the holy gost, be

praye for euer and

euer, world with

oute ende.

Amen.

The ende of the. vi.

Sermon.

* I have been young, and now am forsaken, nor his seed begging bread,
 old, yet have I not seen the righteous —Psa. xxvii. 25.

The seventh

Sermon of Maister Hughe

Latimer, whypche he preached before
the Kinges Maiestye wpythin
hys Graces Palaice at
Westminster the
xix. daye of
Aprill.



*Vaeunquescripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.** Al thynges yat

be written, thei be written to be our doctrine. By occasion of thys texte (most honorable audience) I haue walked thys Lente in the brode filde of scripture and vsed my libertie, and intreated of such matters

as I thought, mete for this auditory. I haue had a do wyth many estates, euen with the highest of all, I haue entreated of the dutye of Kynges, of the dutye of maiestrates, and Iudges, of the dutye of prelates, allowyng that yat is good, and disallowyng the contrary. I haue taught that we ar all synners, I thinke there is none of vs al, neither precher, nor hearer but we maye be amended, and redresse oure lyues. We maye all saye, yea all the packe of vs, *peccauimus cum patribus nostris.*† We haue offended and synned with our forefathers. *In multis offendimus omnes.*‡ There is none of vs al, but we haue in sondry thinges greuously offended almyghtie God. I here intreated of many fautes and rebuked manye kyndes of synnes. I intende to daye by Goddes grace, to shew you the remedy of synne. We be in the place of repentaunce, nowe is the tyme to cal for mercy, whyles we be in

* Rom. xv. 4. † We haue ‡ In many things we offend all.—
sinned with our fathars.—Psa. cvi. 6 Jam. iii. 2.

this worlde. We be all synners, euen the best of vs all. Therefore it is good to here the remedy of synne. This day is commonlye called good Fryday, although eueri day ought to be with vs good fryday, Yet this day we ar accustomed specially to haue a commemoration and remembraunce of the passion of our sauour Iesu Christ. This daye we haue in memory hys bytter Passion and death, which is the remedy of our syn. Therefore I intende to intreat of a pece of the story of hys passion. I am notable to intreate of all. That I may do that the better, and that it maye bee to the honour of God and edification of youre soules and myne both, I shal desyre you to praye etc. In thys prayer, I wyll desyre you to remember the soules departed, wyth laudes and prayse to almyghtie God, that he woulde vouchsafe to assyste them at the hour of their death. In so dooynge, you shalbe put in remembraunce to praye for your selues, that it may please G O D to assyste and comforte you in the agonies and paines of death.

The place that I wyll intreat of is in the. xxvi. Chapter, of saynte Matthewe, Howebeit, as I intreate of it I wyll borrowe parte of Saynte Marke and saynt Luke, for they haue somewhat, that saynt Mathew hath not, and especially Luke.* The texte is. *Thum cum uenisset Iesus in uillam quæ dicitur gethsemani.*† Then when Iesus came, some haue in *uillam* some in *agrum*, some in *pradium*. But it is all one, when Christ came into a Graunge, into a peace of land, into a fielde, it makes no matter, cal it what ye wyl, at what tyme he had come into an honest mans house, and ther eaten hys pascuall lambe, and instituted and celebrate the lordes supper, and sette furth the blessed communion, then when this was done, he toke his way to the place, where he knewe Iudas would come. It was a solitarie place and thither he wente with hys leauen Apostles. For Iudas the twelfte was a bouthe his busines, he was occupied

* Matt. xxvi. 36-44; Mark xiv. 32-38; Luke xxi, 39-44; John xvii. 1.

† Then cometh Iesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

The seventh sermon

aboute his marchaundise, and was prouydyng among the byshoppes and preistes, to come with an imbushment of Iewes to take our sauour Iesus Christ.

And when he was come into this felde, or grandge, this village, or ferme place, which was called Gethsemani, there was a Garden sayth Luke, into the whych he goeth, and leues. viii. of hys disciples without, howbeit he appoynted them what they shold do. He sayth *Sedete hic, donec uadam illuc, et orem.** Sit you-here whiles I go yonder and prai. He told them that he went to pray, to monish them what they should do, to fall to praier as he dyd. He lefte them there, and toke no more with him but. iii. Peter, Iames, and Ihon to teach vs that a solitari place is mete for prayer. Then when he was come into this garden, *Cæpiet expauescere.†* He began to trimble, in so much he sayed *Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem.‡* My soule is heauye and pencyue, euen vnto death. Thys is a notable place, and one of the most especiall and chefeſte of all that be in the storye of the passion of Christe. Here is oure remedye. Here we must haue in consideracion, all hys doynges and sayeinges for oure learnynge, for oure edification, for oure comforth, and consolacion.

Firſte of all he ſet hys thre Diſciples that he toke wyth hym in an order, and toulde theym what they ſhoulde do, ſayinge. *Sedete hic et uigilate mecum et orate.‡*

Sytte here, and praye that ye enter not into temptation, but of that I wyll entreate afterwarde. Nowe when he was in the Garden, *cæpiet expauescere.†* He beganne to be heauye, pencyue, heauye harted. I lyke not Oregens playeing wyth this word *cæpiet*, it was a perfect heauynes, it was ſuche a one as was neuer ſene the grater, it was not onely the begynning of a ſorow. Theſe doctours, we haue greate cauſe to thanke God for them, but yet I would not haue them alwayes to

* Sit here, while I go and pray yonder.—Matt. xxvi. 36.

† Began to be sorrowful and very heavy.—Matt. xvi. 37.

‡ My ſoul is exceeding ſorrowful, euen unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.—Matt. xxvi. 38.

English Reprints

MASTER HUGH LATIMER

Ex-Bishop of Worcester

Seven Sermons before Edward VI.

On each Friday in Lent, 1549

EDITED BY

EDWARD ARBER

F.S.A. ETC. LATE EXAMINER IN ENGLISH

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF

LONDON

WESTMINSTER

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

1895

foule is heauy to death. And *cum cœpisset repauescere* and when he began to quiuer, to shake. The greuousnes of it is declared by hys prayer yat he made. *pater si possibile est etc.** Father if it be possible, a way with this cup, rid me of it. He vnderstod by this cup his paines of death. For he knewe well inoughe that hys passion was at hand, that Iudas was come vpon hym with the Iewes to take him. There was offered vnto hym nowe the Image of death, the Image, the fence, the felynge of hell, for death and hell go both together. I wyl entreate of thys Image of hell, whyche is death. Truelye no manne can shewe it perfectlye, yet I wyl do the best I can to make you vnderstand ye greuouse panges that oure Sauoure Christe was in when he was in the garden, as mans power is not able to beare it, so no mans tong is able to expresse it. Paynters painte death lyke a man without skin, and a body hauyng nothing but bones. And hel they paint it, horrible flames of brenning fier, they bungell some what at it, thei come no thing nere it. But thys is no true payntyng. No paynter can paynte hel vnlesse he coulde paynte the torment and condemnation both of body and foule, ye possession and hauyng of all in felicitie. Thys is hel, this is ye Image of death this is hell, such an euyl fauoured face, such an vgsome countenaunce, such an horrible vyfage our sauour Christ sawe of death and hell in the gardayn. There is no pleasure in beholdyng of it, but more payne then anye tounge can tell. Death and hell toke vnto them thys euyl fauoured face of sine, and thorough synne. This synne is so hyghly hated of God, that he doth pronounce it worthy to be punished wyth lacke of all felicitie, with the fealyng of infelicitie. Death and hell be not only the wages, the reward, ye stipend of sin, but they are brought into ye world by sinne, *per peccatum mors†* sayth S Paule, throughe synne deathe

* O my Father, if it be possible, xxi. 39.
 let this cup pass from me.—Matt. † Death by sin.—Rom. v. 12.

entered into the world. Moses sheweth the first coming in of it into the world. Where as our first father Adam was set at libertie to lyue for euer, yet God inhibytinge hym from eatyng of the Aple, tould hym, If thou meddle with this fruite, thou and all thy posteritie shall fall into necessitie of death from euer lyuynge, *morte morieris*, thou and all thy posteritie shall be subiect to deathe, here came in death and hell. Synne was their mother. Therefore they must haue suche an Image as their mother sinne would geue them. An vglye thing and an horrible Image must it nedes be that is brought in by such a thyng so hated of God, yea this face of death and hell is so terrible, that suche as hath bene wycked men had rather be hanged than a byde it. As Achitophell that traytoure to Dauid lyke an ambyciouse wretche thought to haue come to higher promocion, and therefore conspired with Absolom against hys maister Dauid. He when he sawe hys counsaile toke no place, goes and hanges hym selfe, in contemplacion of thys euyl fauored face of death. Iudas also when he came wyth bushementes to take his maister Christe in beholdyng thys horrible face hanged himselfe.

Yea the electe people of God, the saythful hauinge the beholdyng of thys face, (though God hath alwayes preferued them, suche a good God he is to them that beleue in hym, that he wyll not suffer them to be tempted aboue that, that they haue bene able to beare) yet for all that, there is nothyng that they complaine more sore then of thys horreur of death.

Go to Iob. What sayeth he? *Pereat dies*

*in quo natus sum, suspendium elegit anima mea.** Wo worth ye day that I was borne in, my soule wolde be hanged, saying in his panges almooste he wyte not what.

Iob cursed ye day of hys death when he did inwardly behold ye horreur of death.

Thys was when wyth the eye of hys conscience, and the inwarde man he behelde the horreur of death and hel, not for any bodylye payne that he suffered

* Let the day perish wherein I was born.—Job iii. 3.

for when he hadde byles, botches, blaynes, and scabbes, he suffered them pacientlye, he coulede saye then: *Si bona suscepisti de manu Domini. etc.**

If we haue receyued good thynges of God, why shoulde we not suffer likewyse euyl? It was not for any suche thyng, that he was so vexed, but the syght of thys face of death and hel, was offered to hym so lyuely that he wolde haue bene oute of thys worlde. It was thys euyl fauored face of death that so troubled hym. Kynge Dauid also sayed, in contemplacion of thys vgsome face. *Laboravi in gemitu meo.†* I haue bene fore vexed with sighyng and mourning. *Turbatus est a furore oculus meus.‡*

Myne eye hath bene greatlye troubled in my rage. A straung thyng, when he had to fyghte wyth Goliath that monstrous giante, who was able to haue eaten hym, he coulede a byde hym, and was nothyng a frayed and now what a worcke? what exclamacions makes he at the fyghte of death? Ionas lykewyse was bold inoughe, to byd the shypmen cast hym into the sea, he had not yet sene that face and vyfage, but when he was in the Whales belly, and had there the beholdyng of it, what terror and distresse abode he? Ezechias when he sawe Senacherib beseigyng hys citey oneuerysydemost violentlye, was nothyng a frayde of the greate hoste and myghtye army that was lyke to destroye hym oute of hande, yet he was a frayed of deathe.

Dauid feared not Goliath the monstrous gyant but he feareth death.
Ezechias feared not the mighty Army of Senacherib but he feared death.
iiiij. of the kyn- ges the. xx.

When the Prophet came vnto hym, and sayed. *Dispone domini tuae, morte morieris, et non viues.§*

It stroke him so to the harte that he fel a wepyng. O Lord what an horror was this? Ther be some writers that saies that Peter, Iames and Ihon, were in

* Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?—Job ii. 10.

† I am weary with my groaning.—Psa. vi. 6.

‡ Mine eye is consumed because of grief.—Psa. vi. 7.

§ Set thine house in order; for thou shalt die, and not live.—a King. xx. 1.

thys felynge at the same tyme and that Peter when he sayed: *Exi a me domine quia homo peccator sum.**

Did tast some part of it he was so astonyshe, he wist not what to saye. It was not longe that they were in thys anguyse, some sayes longer, some shorter but Christ was readye to comforte them, and sayed to Peter.

Ne timeas,† Be not afraied. A frend of myne tolde me of a certayne woman, that was. xviii. yeares to gether in it. I knewe a man my self Bilney, litle Bilnei, that blessed martyr of GOD, what tyme he had borne hys sagott, and was come agayne to Cambrydge hadde suche conflyctes, wythin hym selfe, beholdyng

Lytle Bilney the blessed martyr of god had wonderfull conflyctes in his mindes.

thys Image of death, that hys frendes were a frayed to lette hym be alone, they were sayne to be wyth hym daye and nyght, and comforted hym, as they coule, but no comfortes woulde serue. As for the comfortable places of scripture to brynge theym vnto hym, it was as though a man woulde runne hym throughe the herte wyth a sweard. Yet afterwarde for all thys he was reuiued, and toke his death pacientlye, and dyed wel againste the Tirannical sea of Rome. Wo, wil be

Bylney toke hys death patiently.

to that byshoppe that had the examynacyon of hym, if he repented not. Here is a good lesson for you my fryendes. If euer ye come in daunger, in duraunce, in pryson for godes quarrell, and hys sake, (as he dyd for purgatorye matters, and put to beare a sagot for preachyng the true worde of God agaynste pilgremage

A god lesson for suche as are in pryson for ye wordes sake.

and suche lyke matters) I wyl aduyse you fyrst and aboue al thing to abiure al your fryendes, all your frindeshipe, leaue not one vnabiured, it is they that shall vndo you, and not your ennemyes. It was his very frendes, that brought Bylney to it. By this it maye somewhat appere what oure sauour Christe suffered, he doeth not dissemble it hym selfe, when he

* Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord,—Luke v. 8.

† Fear not.—Luke v. 32.

sayth, my soule is heauye to death, he was in so fore
 an Agony, that there issued out of hym
 Chryst was as I shal entreate anone, droppes of bloud,
 in Agonye. an vgfome thing fuerly, whiche his fact and dede sheweth
 vs, what horrible paynes he was in for oure sakes.

But you wyll saye, howe can thys be? It were
 An answer to possible that I and suche other, as be
 an obiectyon concerning greate synners shoulde suffer suche afflic-
 Chrystes af- tion. The sonne of God, what ours
 fliction and tor- Sauioure Chrifte? neuer synned, howe
 mentyng. can thys stande that he shoulde be thys handeled?
 he neuer deserued it. Mary I wyl tell how we must
 confider oure Sauiour Chrifte two wayes, one way in
 hys manhode, another in his Godhed. Some places
 of scripture must be referred to hys deitie, and some
 to his humanitie. In hys godhed he
 Christ suffered nothyng in suffered nothyng, but now he made
 hys godhed hym selfe voide of hys deity, as scripture
 sayth. *Cum esset in forma dei exinaniuit seipsum.**

Where as he was in the forme of God, he emptyed
 hym selfe of it, he dyd hyde it, and vsed him selfe as
 though he had not had it, he woulde not helpe hym
 selfe wyth hys godhede, he humbled him selfe with al
 obedience vnto death, euen to the death of the crosse thys
 was in yat he was man, he toke vpon hym
 How Chryst our synnes, our synnes, not the worcke of
 toke vpon him our synnes. I meane not so, not to do it, not
 to commyt it, but to purge it, to cleanse it, to beare the
 stypende of it, and that waye he was the
 Whych way Chryst was ye greate synner of the worlde, he bare all the
 synne of the worlde on hys backe, he
 would become detter for it.

Nowe to sustayne and suffer the doloures of death, is
 not to synne, but he came into thys worlde, wyth hys
 Chrystes suf- passyon to purge our synnes. Nowe thys
 feryng in the that he suffered in the Gardaine is on[e], of
 garden was the bittrest peces of al hys passyon, thys
 one of the byt-

* Who, being in the form of God obedient unto death, even the death
 he humbled himself, and became of the cross.— Phil. ii, 8.

feare of death was the byttereste payne that euer he abode, dewe to syn which he neuer did, but became detter for vs. Al this he suffer for vs, thys he dyd to satisfesye for our synnes. It is muchlike as if I oughte another man. xx. M. [thousand] poundes, and shulde paye it out of hande, or elles go to the dungen of ludgate, and when I am goynge to pryson, one of my friendes shoulde come, and aske, whether goeth thys man? And after he had harde the matter, shulde saye, let me aunswere for hym, I wylbe come fuertye for hym. Yea, I wyll paye all for hym. Suche a parte played our sauour Christe wyth vs. If he had not suffered thys, I for my part shoulde haue suffered, accordynge to the grautie and qualitie of my synnes, damnacion. For the greater the synne is, the greater is the punyschement in hell. He suffered for you and me in suche a degre, as is dewe to al ye sinnes of the whole world. It was as if you woulde immagin that one man had commytted al the synnes since Adam, you maye be sure he shoulde be punished wyth the same horreur of death in suche a sorte as al men in the worlde shoulde haue suffered. Feyne and put case our sauour Christe, had committed al the sinnes of the world, al that I for my parte haue done, al that you for youre parte haue done, and that anye manne elles hath done, if he hade done all thys him self, his agony that he suffered shoulde haue bene no greater nor greuoufer, then it was. This that he suffered in the garden was a portion I say of hys passion and one of the bitterest partes of it. And this he suffered for oure synnes and not for anye synnes that he had commytted hym selfe for al we should haue suffered euery man accordyng to his owne desertes.

terest peces of
al his passion

He declares
what Chryst
dyd for vs by
a similitude.

The greater
the synne is,
the greater is
the payne.

His suffering
in the garden
was bytter and
paynfull.

This he dydde of his goodnes, partelye to purge and cleanse our synnes, partlye, because he would tast, and fele our myse-

Why Christ
suffred suche
paynes in the
garden.

ries, *Quo posset succurrere nobis.** that he should the rather helpe and relieue vs, and partly he suffered to geue vs example, to behaue our selues as he dyd. He dyd not suffer, to discharge vs cleane from death, to

All men shall behold the vgsome face of death. kepe vs cleane, from it, not to tast of it. Nay nay, you muste not take it so. We shall haue the beholding of this vgsome

face euery one of vs, we shal fele it our selues. Yet oure sauour Christ dyd suffer, to the entente, to sygnifye to

How we shal ouercome death. vs, that death is ouercomable. We shal in dede ouercome it, yf we repente, and acknowledge that our sauour Iesu Christe

pacified with his panges and paynes the wrath of the father, hauynge a loue to walke in the wayes of God, yf we beleue in Iesus Christ, we shal ouercome death, I say, it shal not preuaile agaynst vs. Wherfor whensoever it chaunfeth the my frende, to haue the tast-

What is to be done when the horror of death comes. ynge of thys death, that thou shalte be tempted wyth thys horror of deathe, what is to be done then? whensoever thou felest thy soule heauy to death, make haste, and reforte to this gardaine, and with thys faith thou shalt ouercome thys terroure when it commeth. Oh it was a greuouse

Why Chryst suffred suche payn in the garden. thyng, that Chryste suffered here. Oh the greatnes of his dolour that he suffered in the garden, partiye to make amendes

for our finnes, and partly to delyuer vs from deathe, not so, that we shoulde not dye bodylye, but that thys death should be away to a better lyfe, and to destroye and ouercome hell. Oure Sauoure Chryst had a gardayne, but he had littel pleasure in it. You haue many goodly gardaynes, I wold you would in the myddes of theym confyder what agonye our sauoure

A meditation for vs in oure gardaynes. Chryst suffred in hys gardayne. A goodly meditation to haue in youre gardaines. It shal occasyon you to delight no farther in vanities, but to remembre what he suffred for you. It

* For in that he himself hath suffered being tempted, he is able to succour them that are tempted.— Heb. ii. x8.

maye drawe you from synne? It is a good monu-
mente, a good fygne, a good monycyon to consyder
howe he behaued him selfe in this garden.

Well he sayeth to hys Discyples. Sytte here and
praye wyth me. He wente a lytle way of, as it were
a stones cast from them, and failes to hys prayer, and
sayeth: *Pater si possibile est transeat a me calix iste.**

Father if it be possible. Awaye wyth thys bytter
cuppe thys outrageous payne. Yet after he correctes
him selfe, and sayes: *Veruntamen non sicut ego volo sed
sicut tu vis.†*

Not my wyll but thy wyll be done O Father. Here
is a good medytacyon for Chrysten menne, at all
tymes, and not onelye vpon good fryday, Every daye
should be
good fryday
to a Chrysten
man.
lette good fryday be euerye day to a Chr-
tian manne to knowe, to vse hys passyon
to that ende and purpose, not to reade
the storye, but to take the fruyte of it.

Some menne if they hadde bene in thys agonye,
woulde haue runne them selues through i. Samu. xxxi.
ii. Samu. xviij.
with theyr sweardes as Saule dyd, some
woulde haue hangged theym selues, as Achitophell dyd.

Lette vs not folowe these menne. they be no exam-
ples for vs, but lette vs folowe Christe, whyche in hys
agonye reforted to hys father wyth hys praier. This
must be our patrone to worke by. Here I might di-
late the matter as touchynge prayinge to Saynctes,
here we maye learne not to praye to We muste
pray to God
and not to sayn-
tes.
Sayntes. Christe byddes vs. *Ora patrem
qui est in calis.‡*

Praye to thy father that is in heauen, to the cre-
ator, and not to any creature. And therfore awaye
with these auowryes. Let god alone be oure auowry,
what haue we to do to runne hither or thither, but
onelye to the father of heauen. I wyl not tarye to
speake of thys matter.

* O my Father, if it be possible, as thou wilt.—Matt. xxvi. 39.
at this cup passe from me.—Matt. xxvi. 39.
† Nevertheless not as I will, but
‡ Pray ye: Our Father which art in
heaven.—Matt. vi. 9.

Our Sauour Christe fet hys disciples in an ordre and commaunded theym to watch, and praye, sayinge : *Vigilate et orate.**

Watch and praye. Wherto shoulde they watche and pray? he sayeth by and by: *Ne intretis in tentationem.** That ye enter not into temptacion. He byddes them not, praye that they be not tempted, for that is as muche to say, as to prai that we should be out of thys world. Ther is no man in thys worlde wythout temptacion. It the tyme of prosperyte we are tempted to wantonnes, pleasures, and all lyghtnes, in tyme of aduersyte to dispayre in goddes goodnes. Temptacion neuer ceasses.

A difference betweene being tempted & entryng into temptacion. Ther is a difference betweene beyng tempted and entrynge into temptacion. He byddestherfore not to praye that they be not tempted but that they enter not into temptacion. To be tempted is no euyll thyng.

For what is it? no more then when the fleshe, the diuell and the worlde doeth solycyte and moue vs agaynst God.

To geue place to these suggestions, and to yelde oure selues, and suffer vs to be ouer comme of theym, thys is to enter into temptacyon. Our sauoure Christe knewe that they shoulde be greuouly tempted and therefore he gaue them warnyng, that they shoulde not geue place to temptacyon, nor dyspayre at hys death. And yf they chaunched to forsake hym, or to runne awaye, in case they tripped or swarued, yet to come agayne.

But oure Sauour Chryste dyd not onely commaund hys dysciples to praye, but fell downe vpon hys knee flat vppon the grounde and prayed hyr selfe, sayinge : *Pater si fieri potest transa a me calix iste.†* Father, delyuer me of this pange and payne that I am in, thys outragious payne

* Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.—Matt. xxvi. 41. let this cup pass from me.—Mat. xxvi. 39.

† O my Father if it be possible.

This word, father, came euen from the bowels of hys harte, when he made hys mone, as who shoulde saye, father ryd me, I am in suche payne that I can be in no greater? Thou art my father, I am thy sonne. Can the father forsake his sonne in suche anguishe. Thus he made hys mone. Father take awaye this horreur of deathe from me, ryd me of thys payne, suffer me not to be taken whan Iudas comes, suffer me not to be hanged on the crosse, suffer not my handes to be perced with nayles nor my harte wyth the sharpe speare. A wonderfull thyng, that he shoulde so oft tel his disciples of it before, and now when he cometh to the poynte, to desyre to be rydde of it, as though he woulde haue bene disobedient to the wyl of his father. Afore he sayed, he came to suffer, and now he sayes, a waye wyth thys cuppe. Who woulde haue thoughte that euer thys geare should haue come oute of Christes mouthe? What a case is this? What shuld a man say? You muste vnderstand, that Christe tooke vpon hym our infyrmities, of the whych thys was one to be forye at deathe. Amonge the styppendes of synne this was on[e] to trimble at the crosse, this is a punyishment for oure synne.

Chrysostome
vpon hym all
our infirmities,
except
syn.

It goeth otherwayes wyth vs, then wyth Christe, yf we were in lyke case, and in like agony, almost we woulde curse God, or rather wyshe that there were no God. Thys that he sayed, was not of that sorte, it was referrynge the matter to the wyll of hys father, but we seke by al meanes be it righte, be it wrong of oure owne nature to be ryd out of payne, he desyred it condicionally, as it myghte stande, wyth hys fathers wyll, addyng a *Veruntamen** to it.

So his request was to shewe the infyrmytye of man, here is now an example what we shal do, when we are in lyke case.

He neuer deserued it, we haue. He had a *Veruntamen** a not wythstandynge,

An example
for vs when
we are tempted.

* Nevertheless.—Matt. xxvi 39.

let vs haue so to, we muste haue a neuertheles, thy wyll be done and not myne.

Geue me grace to be contente to submitte my wyl vnto thyne. Hys facte teacheth vs what to do. Thys

When we are	is oure surgerye, oure phyfyke, when we
in Agonye	be in Agonye, And reken vpon it frendes,
what phisyck	we shuld vse.
we shuld vse.	we shal come to it, we shal feele it, at one

tyme or an other.

What does he now? what came to passe nowe, when he had harde no voyce? hys father was domme.

He resortes to hys frendes, seking some comfort at theyr handes seyng he had none at hys fathers hande, he comes to hys disciples, and fyndes them a slepe, he spake vnto Peter, and saied. Ah Peter arte thou a slepe, Peter before had bragged stoutly, as though he woulde haue kylled, God haue mercye vpon hys soule. And nowe when he shoulde haue comforted Christ, he was a slepe, not once buffe, nor baffe to him, not a word, he was fayne to saye to hys dyscyples: *Vigilate et orate*,* Watche and pray, the spirit is ready, but the fleshe is weake, he had neuer a worde of them agayne. They myght at the leste haue sayed. Oh Syr remember your selfe, are not you Christe came not you into thys world, to redeme synne, be a good cheare, be a good comfort, this sorrow wil not healpe you, comforte youre selfe by your owne preachynge, you haue sayed: *Oportet filium hominis pati*,† You haue not deserued any thing, it is not your faulte. In dede if they had done thys wyth hym, they had played a frendlye parte wyth hym, but they gaue hym not so muche as one comfortable worde. We ronne to our frendes in our dystresses and Agonyes, as though we had al oure truste and confydence in theym, he dyd not so, he resorted to theim, but trusted not in theym, we wyll ronne to our frendes and come no more to God, he returned agayn.

What shall we not resorte to oure frendes in tyme

* Watch and pray.—Matt xxvi. 41. Thus it behoued Christ to suffer.

† The Son of man must suffer.—Luke xxiv. 46.
Luke ix. 22.

of nede? and trowe ye we shal not fynde them a slepe? yes I warrante you, and when we nede theyr helpe most, we shal not haue it. But what shal we do, when we shall fynde lacke in theym? we wyll crye out vpon theym, vpbrayde them, chyde, braule, fume, chaufe and backbite them. But Chryst dyd not so, he excused hys fryendes, sayinge :

*Vigilate et orate spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma.** Oh (quouth he) watch and pray, I se wel the spirite is ready, but the fleshe is weake. What meaneth this? suerelye it is a comfortable place. For as longe as we lyue in thys worlde, when we be at the best, we haue no more but. *Promptitudinem spiritus cum infirmitate carnis*, The redynesse of the spirite with the infirmite of the flesh. The verye Saynctes of God sayed : *Velle adest mihi*,† My wyl is good, but I am not able to performe it, I haue bene with some, and fayne they woulde, fayne they woulde, there was redines of spirite, but it woulde not be. It greued them that they coulede not take thynges, as they should do.

The fleshe resyseth the worcke of the holy Gost in oure herte, and lettes it, lettes it. We haue to praye euer to God O prayer, praier, that it myght be vsed in thys Realme as it oughte to be of all menne, and specyallye of Magystrates, of Counsaylers, of greate Rulers, to praye, to praye, that it woulde please God to putte Godly policies in their hertes. Call for asystaunce. I haue heard say, when that good quene that is gon had ordeined in her house, dayly prayer both before none, and after none, the admyral gettes hym oute of the waye, lyke a moule diggynge in the earth. He shalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyue. He was a couetous manne, an horrible couetous manne, I wolde there were no mo in England. He was an ambicious man.

How ye fleshe resistis.
M. L. wisheth prayer to be vsed.

The admiral was a contemptuar of commun praier

* Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation; the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.—Matt. xxvi. 41.

† To will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good I find not.—Rom. vii. 18.

I woulde there were no mo in Englande. He was a
 sedicious man, a contemnar of commune prayer, I
 would there were no mo in England, he is gone, I
 wold he had left none behind him: Remember you
 my lordes, that you pray in your houses to the better
 mortification of your fleshe. Remember
 He wylleth them to pray. god must be honored, I wyl you to praye
 that God wyl continew his spirit in you. I do not
 put you in comfort, that yf ye haue once the spirit, ye
 cannot lose it, Ther be new spirites start
 New spirites lately start vp
 vp now of late, that saye, after we haue
 receyued the spiryt, we cannot synne. I
 wyll make but one argument. Saynt Paule had
 broughte the Galathians to the possessyon of the fayth,
 and left theym in that state, they had receiued the
 spirit once, but they synned agayne, as he testified of
 theym him selfe. He sayeth: *Currebatis bene.** Ye
 were once in a ryght state, and agayne. *Recepistis
 spirituum ex operibus legis, an ex iusticia fidei?†* Once
 they had the spirit by faith, but false Prophetes
 came (when he was gone from them), and they
 plucked them cleane away from al that Paul
 had planted them in, and then saied Paul vnto
 them: *O stulti Galathi quis vos facinauit?‡* yf this be
 true, we may lose ye sp[i]ryte, yat we haue once pos-
 sessed. It is a fond thyng, I wyll not tarry in it. But
 now to the passyon again. Christ had ben with hys
 father, and felt no healpe, he had bene with hys
 frendes, and had no comfort, he had prayed twyse, and
 was not herd, what dyd he now? dyd he
 Chryst conty- nueued in praier. geue prayer ouer? no, he goeth agayne to
 hys father, and sayeth the same agayne, father if it be
 possyble awaye with this cup, here is an example for vs
 although we be not herd at the first time, shal we geue
 ouer our praier? nay we must to it agayne, we must be
 importune vpon god, we must be instant in prayer. He
 prayed thryse and was not herd, let vs sinners praye

* Ye did run well. Gal. v. 7.

of faith?—Gal. iii. 2.

† Received ye the Spirit by the
 works of the law, or by the hearing

‡ O foolish Galatians, who hath
 bewitched you?—Gal. iii. 2.

thre score tymes, folkes are very dul now adaies in praier, to come to fermons, to resorte to common praier. You houskepers, and especially great men geue example of prayer in your houses. Well dyd hys father looke vpon him thys second tyme? no, he went to hys frendes agayne thynkyng to finde some comfort ther, but he findes them a slepe, again more deper a slepe then euer they were. Their eyes were heauy with slepe Ther was no comfort at all, they wyft not what to say to hym. A wonderfull thing, how he was toft from post to piller, one whyle to hys father, and was destytute at hys hand, anothe whyle, to hys frendes, and founde no comfort at them, hys father gaue him loking on, and suffred him to bite vpon the brydle a whyle. Almyghtye God behelde thys battayle that he myghte enioye that honoure and glory, that in hys name al knees shuld bow, *Cælestium, Terrestrium, et infernorum*.^{*} in heauen, earth and hel. Thys that the father wolde not here hys owne sonne, was an other punyshement due to our synne. When we crye vnto hym, he wyll not here vs. The Prophet Ieremy sayeth. *Clamabunt ad me, et ego non exaudium eos*.[†] These be Ieremyes wordes, here he threateneth to punyshe syn wyth not hearyng theyr prayers. The prophet saythe. They haue not had the feare of God before theyr eyes, nor haue not regarded disciplyne and correction. I neuer sawe surely so lyttel discipline as is now a daies. Men wilbe maysters, they wyl be maysters, and no Disciples. Alas where is thys disciplyne now in England. The people regarde no discipline, they be without al order. Wher thei shuld geue place, they wyll not stur one inch, yea, wher magistrates shold determyne matters, they wyl breake into the place, before they come, and at theyr comynge not moue a whitte for them. Is this discipline? Is thys good order? Yf a man say any thyng vnto them, they

House keepers
and great men
must geue ex-
ample of
prayer.

God puny-
shes syn in
not hearynge
of our praiers.

^{*} Of *things* in heauen, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth.
—Phil. ii. 10.

[†] I will not hear *them* in the time that they cry vnto me for their trouble.—Jer. xi. 14.

regarde it not. They that be called to aunswere wyll not aunswere direcilye, but skoffe the matter out. Men the more thei knowe, the worffe they be, it is truely sayed.

Sciencia inflat,* knoweledge maketh vs proude and causeth vs to forget all, and fet a waye discipline. Suerlye, in Poperye they had a reuerence, but now we haue none at all, I neuer sawe the lyke. Thys same lacke of the feare of God, and discipline in vs, was one of the causes that the father woulde not heare hys sonne. Thys payne suffered our sauoure Christ for vs, who neuer deserued it. Oh what it was, that he suffered in thys gardeyn, til Iudas came. The doloures, the terroures, the sorrowes that he suffered, be vnspeakeble, He suffered it, partelye, to make amendes for oure synnes, and partelye, to geue vs example, what wee shoulde do in lyke case.

What comes of thys gere in the ende? Wel, nowe he prayeth agayne, he resorteth to his father agayne. *Angore correptus, prolixius orabat.*† He was in sorer paines, in more anguyshe, then euer he was, and therefore he prayeth longer, more ardentlye, more saruentlye, more vehementlie, then euer he did before.

Oh Lorde, what a wonderfull thyng is thys, thys horroure of death is worffe then death it selfe, more vgsome, more bytter then anye bodylye death. He prayeth nowe the thyrde tyme. He dyd it so instantlye, so seruently, that it brought out a bloody sweate, and suche plentye that it dropped downe euen to the grounde. Ther issued out of hys precious bodye droppes of bloude. What a paine was he in, when these bloody droppes fell so abundantlye from hym. Yet for all that, how vnthankfull do we shewe oureselues toward hym that dyed only for oure sakes, and for the remedy of oure synnes. Oh what blasphemye do we commit daye by daye, what litle regard haue we to his blessed passion thus to sweare by goddes

* Knowledge puffeth up.—1 Cor. viii. 7.

† And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly.—Luke xxii. 44.

bloude, by Christes passion. We haue nothyng in no pastime, but gods bloude, gods woundes. We continually blaspheme his passion in haukyng, hunting, dising, and cardinge. Who would thynke he shoulde haue suche enemyes a monge those that professe hys name.

What became of hys blud that fell downe trowe ye? was the bloude of Hales of it (wo worthe it). What a do was it to bryng thyng out of the kynges heade, thyng greates abhominacion of the bloud of hales could not be taken a great whyle out of his mynde. You that be of the court, and especially ye sworne chapleynes be ware of a lesson that a greates man taught me at my fyrst comming to the courte he tolde me for good wyll, he thoughte it well. He saye vnto me. You must beware howe soeuer ye do that ye contrari not the Kynge, let hym haue hys sayinges, follow hym, go wyth hym. Mary out vpon this counsaile, shall I saye, as he sayes. Saye youre conscience, or eles what a worme shal ye fele gnawynge, what a remorse of conscience shall ye haue, when ye remembre howe ye haue slacked your dutye. It is a good wyse verse. *Gutta cauat lapidem, non ui sed saepe cadendo.* The droppe of raine maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by ofte fallynge. Lyke wyse a Prynce muste be turned not violentlye, but he must be wonne by a lytle and a lytle. He muste haue hys dutye tolde hym, but it muste be done wyth humblenes, wyth request of pardon, or els it were a daungerous thyng.

Vnpreacheynge Prelates haue bene the cause, that the bloud of Hales did so long blynd the Kynge. Wo worthe that suche an abhominable thyng, shuld be in a Christen realme, but thanks be to God it was partly redressed in the Kynges dayes that dead is, and much more nowe. God graunte good wil, and power to go forward, yf ther be any suche abhominacion behinde, that it may vtterly be rooted vp.

O. how happy are we, that it hath pleased almyghty God to vouch safe, that his sonne shuld sweate bloud

for the redeming of oure synnes, and agayne howe vnhappye are we yf we wyll not take it thanckefullye, but that was redemed so paynfullye. Alas what harde heartes haue we. Oure Sauour Christ neuer synned, and yet sweat he bloud for our synnes, we wyll not once watter oure eyes wyth a fewe teares. What an horrible thing is sinne? that no other thyng wold remedy and paye the ransom for it, but only the bloud of our Sauoure Christe. There was nothinge to pacify the fathers wrath agaynst man, but suche an Agonye as he suffered. All the passyon of all the martyrs that euer were, al the sacryfices of Patryarkes that euer were, al the good workes that euer were done, were not able to remedy oure synne, to make satisfaccion for oure synnes, nor anye thyng besydes; but thys extreme passion and blud sheddyng of our most merciful Sauoure Christ.

But to drawe towarde an ende, what became of thys thre fold prayer at ye lenth, it pleased God to here his sonnes prayer, and sent hym an angell to corroborate, to strengthen, to comfort hym.

Christ nede no angels helpe, if he had lysted to ease him selfe wyth hys deitie. He was the sonne of God what then? for so much as he was man he receyued comforte at the Aungels hande, as it accordes to our infirmitie. Hys obedience, his contynuaunce, and sufferinge, so pleased the father of heauen, that for his sonnes sake, be he neuer so greate a synner, leauyng hys synne, and repenteynge for the same, he wyll ow hym suche fauoure, as though he had neuer commyte anye synne.

The father of heauen wyll not suffer him to be tempted with thys greate horreur of deathe and he to the vttermoste, and aboue that he is able to beare. Looke for it my frendes, by him and through him ye shalbe able to ouercome it, let vs do as our Sauoure Christe dyd, and we shal haue helpe from aboue, we shal haue aungels helpe, yf we trust in hym heauen and earth shall geue vp, rather then we sh

lacke helpe, He saith he is. *Adiutor in necessitatibus.** an helper in tyme of nede. When the aungell had comforted hym, and when thys horroure of deathe was gone, he was so strong, that he offered himselfe to Iudas, and sayed. I am he. To make an ende, I praye you take paines: it is a daye of penaunce (as we vse to sai) geue me leue to make you werye thys daye. The Iewes had hym to Cayphas and Annas, and there they whypt hym, and bet hym, they sette a crowne of sharpe thorne vpon hys head, and nayled hym to a tree, yet al thys was not so bytter, as thys horroure of death, and thys Agony, that he suffered in the gardayne, in suche a degree as is dewe to al the synnes of the worlde, and not to one mannes synne.

Well, thys passion is our remedye, it is the satisfaccyon for oure synnes. Hys soule descended to hell for a tyme. Here is muche a do, these newe vpstartynge spirites, say Christ neuer descended into hel, neyther body nor soule. In scorne they wil aske, was he ther, what did he there? what if we cannot tell what he dyd there? The Crede goeth no further, but sayeth, he descended thyther, what is that to vs if we cannot tell seynge we were taughte no further. Paulle was taken vp into the third heauen, aske lykewyse what he sawe when he was caried thyther, you shall not fynde in scripture what he sawe or what he dyd there, shal we not therfore beleue that he was there.

These arrogant spirites, spirites of vayne glorie: because they knowe not by any expr[ess]e scripture, the order of his doynge in hell, they wil not beleue that euer he descended into hell. In dede thys article hathe not so full scripture, so many places and testimonyes of scriptures as other haue, yet it hathe ynough, it hath. ii. or. iii. textes, and if it had but one, one texte of scripture, is of as good and lawfull authoritye as a. M. [thousand] and of as certayne truth. It is not to be wayed by the multitude of textes. I beleue as certaynely and verely that thys Realme of Englande hath as good authoritye to here Goddes word as any

* Grace to help in time of need.—Heb. iv. 16.

nation in al the worlde, it maye be gathered by. ii. textes, one of theym is thys.

*Ite in uniuersum mundum, et predicate euangelium omni creaturae.**

Go into the whole world, and preache the Gospell to all creatures. And agayne. *deus uult omnes homines saluos fieri.*† God wyll haue al men to be saued, he exceptes not the Englishemen here, nor yet expresselye nameth theym, and yet I am as sure, that thys Realme of Englande, by this gatherynge, is allowed to here Goddes word, as though Christe hadde sayed a thousande tymes, Go preache to Englishmen, I wyl that Englishemen be saued. Because thys article of hys descendyng into hell, cannot be gathered so directlye, no necessarye, so formallye they do vtterlye denye it. Thys article hath Scriptures two or three. Inoughe for quiet myndes, as for curiouse braynes nothyng can contente them.

This is the dyuels sterryng vp of suche spirites of sedicion, is an euidente argumente, that the light is come forth, for his word is a brode, when the dyuel rustheth, when he roreth, when he styrreth vp suche busie spirites, to sclaunder it. My entent is not to entreate of thys matter at thys tyme. I trust the people wyll not be caryed awaye wyth these newe arrogant spirites. I dout not, but good preachers wyl labour agaynst them. But now I wyl saye a worde, and herein I protest fyrste of al, not arrogantly to determyne, and desyne it, I wyll contend wyth no man for it, I wyll not haue it be preiudice to any body, but I offer it vnto you to consyde and waye it.

There be some greate clarkes that take my parte, and I perceyue not what euill can come of it, in saying, yat our Sauour Christe dyd not onely, in soule descende into hell, but also that he suffered in helliche paynes as the damned spirites dyd suffer there. Suerli, I beleue verelie for my parte, that he suffered the paynes of hell proporcionably, as it correspondes

* Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. † God our Saviour: who will haue all men to be saved.—1 Tim. ii. 3, 4.
—Mark xvi. 75.

and aunsweres to the whole synne of the worlde. He would not suffer onelye bodelye in the gardayne and vpon the crosse, but also in hys soule, when it was from the bodye, whyche was a payne dewe for oure synne.

Some wrytte so, and I can beleue it that he suffered in the very place, I can not tell what it is, call it what ye wil, euen in the skaldinge house, in the vgsomnes of the place, in the presence of the place, suche payne as our capacitie cannot attayne vnto, it is some what declared vnto vs, when we vtter it by these effectes, by fyre, by gnashynge of teth, by the worme that gnaweth on the conscience. What so euer the payne is, it is a greate payne that he suffered for vs. I se no inconuenience to saye, that Christe suffered in soule in hell.

I singularly commende the exceedynge greate charitie of Christ that for our sakes wold suffer in hell in his soule. It serches oute the vnspcakable hatred that God hathe to synne. I perceyue not that it doth derogate any thing from ye dignitie of Christes death, as in ye gardayne, when he suffered, it derogates nothing from yat he suffred on the crosse. Scripture speaketh on this fassion. *qui credit in me, habet uitam aeternam.** He that beleueth in me, hath lyfe euerlastynge. Here he setteth furth sayth, as the cause of our iustification, in other places as high commendacion is geuen to workes, and yet are the worckes anye derogacion from that dignitie, sayth? No. And agayne scripture sayeth. *Traditus est propter peccata nostra et excusatus propter iustificationem etc.†*

It attributeth here oure iustification, to his resurection, and doeth thys derogate anye thyng from hys death? not a whit. It is whole Christ. What wyth his natiuitie, what with his circumcision, what wyth hys incarnation, and the whole processe of hys lyfe, wyth hys preachynge, what wyth hys ascendynge, descend-

* He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.—John vi. 47.

† Who was delivered for our

offences, and was raised again for our justification.—Rom. iv. 25.

ynge, what wyth his death, it is all Christe that worketh oure saluacion.

He sitteth on the ryght hande of the father, and all for vs. All this is the worke of oure saluacion. I woulde be as loeth, to derogate any thing from Christes death as the best of you al. How vnestimably are we bound to hym? what thankes oughte we to geue hym for it? We muste haue thys continuallye in remembraunce. *propter te morti morti tradimur tota die.** For the, we are in diynge continuallye.

The life of a Christen man is nothyng but a readines to dye, and a remembraunce of death, If thys that I haue spoken of Christes sufferynge in the gardayne, and in hell, derogate any thinge from Christes death and passion, awaye wyth it, beleue me not in this, if it do not, it commendes and settes furth very wel vnto vs, the perfection of the satisfacion that Christ made for vs, and the woorke of a redemption, not onely before wytnes in thys worlde, but in hel in that vgfome place, wherto whether he suffered, or wraffled with the spirites, or comforted Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob. I wyl not desier to knowe, if ye lyke not that which I haue spoken of hys sufferynge, let it go. I wyl not strue in it. I wil be preiudice to nobody, weye it as ye list. I do but offer it you to consider. It is like his soule did somewhat, the thre dayes that hys body lay in the graue. To saye he suffered in hell for vs derogats nothing from his death, for al thinges that Christ did before his suffering on the crosse, and after do worke oure saluacion, if he had not bene incarnat, he had not dyed, he was beneficial to vs with al thinges he did. Christen people should haue his sufferinge for them in remembraunce, let your gardains monishe you, your pleasaunt gardaynes what Christ suffred for you in the Gardayne, and what commoditie you haue by hys sufferynge.

It is hys wyl ye shoulde so do, he woulde be hadde in remembraunce. Myxt youre pleasurs with the remembraunce of his bitter passion. The whole passion

* For thy sake are we killed all the day long.—Psa. xlv. an.

.s satisfaccion for oure synnes, and not the bare death. confidering it so nakedly by it selfe The maner of spekyng of scripture is to be considered. It attributeth oure saluacion, nowe to one thyng, nowe to a nother that Christe dyd, where indede it pertayned to all. Oure Sauoure Christe hath leste behynd hym, a remembraunce of hys passion, the blessed communion, the celebration of the Lordes supper, a lacke it hath bene longe abused, as the sacrifices were before, in the ould law. The Patriarkes vsed sacrifice, in the fayeth of the seade of the woman, whyche shoulde breake the serpent's hed. The Patriarkes sacrificed on hope, and afterwarde the worcke was esteemed.

There comes other after, and they consider not the fayth of Abraham, and the Patriarkes, but do they sacrifice accordyng to theyr owne imaginacion, euen so came it to passe wyth oure blessed communion.

In the primatyue church, in plagues, when theyr fryendes were deade, they vsed to come together to the holy communion. What? to remedye them that were deade? No, not a strawe. It was not instituted for no suche purpose.

But then they would call to remembraunce goddes goodnes, and his passion that he suffered for vs, wherein they comforted much theyr fayth. Other came after warde and settes vp all these kyndes of massyng, all these kyndes of iniquite. What an abhominacion is it? the foulest that euer was to attribute to mans worke oure saluacion. God be thanked that we haue thys blessed communion set forth so nowe, that we maye comfort, encrease, and fortify our fayth at that blessed celebration. Yf he be gyltye of the bodye of Christ, that takes it vnworthely, he fetcheth greate comforte at it, that eate it worthely, He doothe eate it worthelye, that doeth it in fayeth. In fayeth? in what fayeth? Not long ago a great man, sayed in an audience, they bable much of faith, I wyll go lye wyth my whore al nyghte, and haue as good a fayth, as the best of them al. I thynke he neuer knewe other, but the whore mongers

fayth. It is no fuche fayth that wyll ferue. It is no brybynge Iudges, or iustices fayth, no rentreasers fayeth, no hore mongers fayth, no lease mongers fayth, no seller of benefices fayth, but the fayth in the passion of oure Sauoure Christ, we must beleue that our Sauoure Christ hath taken vs agayne to hys sa[u]oure, that he hath deliuered vs hys owne bodye and bloude to plead with the dyuel, and by merite of hys owne passion, of his owne mere liberalitie. This is the fayth I tel you, that we must come to the communion with, and not the horemongers fayth? Loke where remission of sin is, ther is acknowledging of sin also. Fayth is a noble duchesse, she hath euer her gentleman vs her going before her, the confessing of sinnes, she hath a trayne after her, the frutes of good workes, the walking in the commaundementes of god. He yat beleueth, wyll no[t] be idle, he wyl walke, he wil do his busines, haue euer the gentelman vs her with you. So if ye wil trye fayth, remember this rule, consider whether the trayne be waytinge vpon her. Yf you haue another fayth then thys, a whoremonkers fayth, you are lyke to go [to] ye Scalding house, and ther you shal haue two dishes, wepyng and gnashinge of teeth, muche good do it you, you se your fare. If ye wil beleue and acknowledge your synnes, you shal come to ye blessed communion of the bitter passion of

Christ, worthily, and
so attayne
to euer-
lastynge lyfe, to
the whiche the
father of hea-
uen bringe
you and
me

